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The Great Mutation

CARL BRIDENBAUGH*

HERE in Chicago, this evening, I propose a causerie, a sharing with friends and colleagues some of my thoughts about history and its possible future in a kind of Lakeside chat. I ask your permission to speculate out loud. Or, perhaps, it is my duty as your President to report on the state of the profession and to suggest tentatively some measures to be taken for the benefit of ourselves and our posterity.

I want to talk about a situation affecting all of us, as historians, whether we be teachers, researchers, or writers, a situation which appears to me to have clustered around it all the elements of high tragedy. As I have tried to understand it, I have been at once puzzled and dismayed. Possibly, if I may lapse into jargon, my predicament is due to the fact that I am one of the inner-directed historians; whereas I imagine the majority of this audience and the

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readers of the *American Historical Review* are outer-directed. Were I able to reach such an easy conclusion, I could retire serene and contented. Contrariwise, I would not have you conclude that I think of myself as a sort of twentieth-century Apollinaris Sidonius ironically contemplating and recording the crumbling of a civilization round and about me.

The observations and comments which follow are neither original nor fully and exhaustively developed, but I do submit that the issues with which they deal are pressing and crucial; indeed they involve our very survival as a profession.

The canonical way for a historian to begin a lecture or a piece of research is to ask a question of the past; so let me open with a question addressed to every member of this body whatever his field of teaching or investigation. And it is this:

Can we reasonably assume that future historians will be able to recapture enough of a sense of the past to enable them to feel and understand it and to convey to their readers what this past was even remotely like?

Or, turned about and more succinctly:

How much longer will Society continue to support History as a useful branch of knowledge?

The posing of this question and the answers suggested to it are predicated on my conviction that the greatest turning point in all human history, of which we have any record, has occurred within the twentieth century.

In attempting to epitomize what I conceive to have transpired, I have borrowed a term, appropriately I think, from biology. The nature of human existence has undergone a "great mutation."

The Great Mutation, or historical change, has taken place so rapidly, and life has sustained such sudden and radical alterations (in the long course of time) that we are now suffering something like historical amnesia. In the present century, first Western civilization and now the entire globe have witnessed the inexorable substitution of an artificial environment and a materialistic outlook on life for the old natural environment and spiritual world view that linked us so irrevocably to the Recent and Distant Pasts. So pervading and complete has been this change, and so complex has life become—I almost said overwhelming—that it now appears probable that mid-nineteenth-century America or Western Europe had more in common with fifth-

century Greece (physically, economically, socially, mentally, spiritually) than with their own projections into the middle of the twentieth century. Is it possible that so short a time can alter the condition of man?

At this point you must be reminded that these are but one man's musings arising from one man's experience with modern life. Inevitably, then, I become autobiographical, and a little research into my own (a recent) past may assist in making clear what I mean. At least I can be concrete. But let no one take alarm that he is about to listen to an extended reading from the education of Carl Bridenbaugh, though there is some compensation in the unmasking of a personal bias.

My entire life of fifty-nine years has been spent in this century, and I embarked on my thirty-seven years of professional life just as its second quarter opened. My childhood (a happy one and "secure") was spent on the suburban periphery of the sprawling city of Philadelphia, where it was still possible to grow up in a sort of *rus in urbe* setting as late as the end of the first war with Germany. I think this is significant. Although I attended city schools, on Saturdays and vacations I ranged the fields together with other boys, gathered and sold chestnuts, fished, and trapped muskrats along the banks of a broad creek. The first large fire I ever saw was not a city building but a hay barn, which was situated so distant from the firehouse that the big bay horses gave out before they and the steam pumper could reach the scene. When it was too cold, or rain and snow kept us indoors, we always had books laid aside for such contingencies, which occurred frequently. The reading could be anything from Tom Swift and the Rover Boys to stories from classical mythology, and we regarded this pursuit as a diversion, not as an assignment. Afterward we even talked about and criticized these books. And many summers were spent on my uncle's dairy and fruit farm in central Pennsylvania.

The scene of my college life was a small New Hampshire village. One of my most vivid memories of the year 1921 is the sight of Prexy's father-in-law, a farmer, collecting the town's garbage for his pigs in a two-ox cart, goad and all. I never had any doubts about what was meant in my History I textbook when Luther told the Diet at Worms that "It makes a difference whose ox is gored." On one occasion, a year later, I passed a night in a remote hillside farmhouse, where my presence led to the addition of some prunes stewed in molasses to the regular monotonous evening meal of boiled potatoes and salt pork. Once I assisted as a hutkeeper in the White Mountains on Moosilauke Summit, where for days on end we were shut off from the world outside.

The second quarter of the twentieth century, however, has produced some astounding contrasts. On the physical side, the difference can be illustrated by a casual incident of 1931. Following the trend, my parents had moved into a giant apartment "complex." One morning, while I was visiting them during a Christmas vacation, I came out of the building and found myself walking close enough behind a mother and her five-year-old daughter to overhear their conversation. It was Monday, and the street's curbs were lined with ash cans. To the little girl's question of what they were, the mother replied: "That's right, Gwendolyn, I have never explained to you about furnaces, have I?"

On the educational and cultural side, perhaps nothing so marks the age as the decline in reading, especially reading for enjoyment, and with it, a shrinking of the imagination that reading has always stimulated. Must we abandon Masfield's beautiful poem "Cargoes," and, for the quinquere of Nineveh, the stately Spanish galleon, and the dirty British coaster, substitute the submarine, the jet plane, and the rocket? A west coast colleague told me of a freshman coed at the University of California who complained to him about receiving a "D" in a history examination, for she claimed that she had always made "B's" in high school history courses. Upon her mentioning the French Revolution, she was asked, "What did you make in that"? "A guillotine," was the quick response of this young woman, who had been educated for life.

Yes, we may smile, but what are we to make of my own *rencontre* with a psychologist and an anthropologist, younger than I am, but each nationally prominent in his subject. I had been lamenting the failure of several of my best graduate students to recognize an allusion at the end of one of my lectures: "But, as Alice said, it is nothing but a pack of cards." There was a brief silence and then, almost in unison, they demanded, "Well, who *was* Alice"? Alice is apparently out for the duration—she is as dead as the Dodo. Is allusion as a literary and teaching device now outmoded?

Many historians before me here can testify to the remarkable transformation of the conditions of existence before 1900. Some of the changes have occurred very rapidly, but nevertheless one of my generation finds it difficult to believe that the intelligent young woman, reared in our modern artificial surroundings, who was sent to Nigeria by the Peace Corps, found it impossible to imagine in advance something of the primitive natural situations she would have to face upon reaching her post. She was even innocent of the fact that post cards are, or formerly were, customarily read by several people before they reach the persons to whom they are addressed. The point is that raw

nature is beyond the ken of most of the people of the Western world, because they have grown up in the man-made setting of the new world in this century. After all, Gwendolyn must be about thirty-six years old now. But enough of this former tranquillity recollected not unemotionally, for there is no need to labor this for historians, and the present purpose can be served by singling out certain aspects of the Great Mutation that have to do directly with history and historians, both now and hereafter.

Can we historians of this present day and age, let alone those yet to come (who will have been nurtured and educated exclusively in artificial surroundings) succeed in recovering imaginatively what the old milieu of thousands of years was like? My mountain-climbing friends tell me that atop the loftiest Alps, or the Grand Tetons, they come across the dreary spectacle of castoff cigarette packs and ugly yellow Kodak film boxes; they have even stepped on wads of gum. The transistor radio has everywhere created a new *urbe in rus*, bringing the Huntley-Brinkley news and the Madison Avenue claptrap to the summit of Moosilauke and the High Sierras. Shades of John Muir and his lovely, lonely summers!

The Bureau of the Census announced in January 1962 that shortly the farm population of the United States will drop to fourteen millions; so that it will but equal the number of teenagers. Though he was bred on a farm, my late father, like so many others of his generation, ran off to the city. One day in 1934, he related, not without asperity, an experience he had had that afternoon with a Pennsylvania German farmer. While waiting on the city's outskirts for a bus to bring in a business associate, he fell into conversation with the farmer, who, clad in blue-and-white striped overalls, was standing beside his truck; he too was awaiting the bus. My father remarked that he had once been a farmer. With a contemptuous glance at my father's neat business suit and his shiny black car, the Dutchman turned and started to walk away. Then, suddenly, he whirled around and said, with a sneer, "You say you were a farmer. Well, how would you teach a calf to drink out of a milk pail?" Indignant that his word should be questioned, my father replied, "I don't know how you would do it, but I would take the calf's head between my legs, stick three fingers into its mouth, and thrust its head down into the pail." City folks cannot imagine such things; he had triumphantly proved his origins. The moral of this tale is that such lore is alien to all but a shrinking few these days; in 1840, or 1776, or 55 B.C., it was commonplace. We are the last generation to have from our own meager experience any actual knowledge of what it was like to live in what we may term the natural ages before

1900. It is indubitably true that physically and economically the old, comparatively stable rural society has been transformed into an unstable, urban, industrial society by unforeseeable technological changes.

In teaching history classes I have found it impossible to get students to imagine an event so close to some of us as the Great Depression though I resorted to every narrative device at my command. I have recounted my horror at seeing formerly respectable men, reduced to hunger, rooting through garbage cans on Beacon Hill in Boston in 1933. The students were unmoved. Even less could they comprehend how such sights could have impelled one of our more versatile members to write a sonnet entitled "Christ in the Breadline." How then, can we expect them to make anything out of the highly significant statement of an apprentice to the court of Essex County, Massachusetts, in 1657, that it was a long time before "he could eat his master's food, viz. meate and milk, or drink beer, saying that he did not know that it was good, because he was not used to eate such victualls, but to eate bread and water porridge and to drinke water?"

Somewhat different consequences of the Great Mutation can be detected in the human and spiritual spheres. So deeply has the virus of secularism penetrated our society that religion is very far gone—all newspaper reports to the contrary. The present generation of college students is, in all probability, the last to know anything fundamental about religion, and it knows very little. All of them—Protestants, Jews, Roman Catholics alike—are deeply curious about the history of religion as a novel story, but they have never known real piety. They are passive at best. It almost seems as if they think of God as a new idea that came in with the Eisenhower administration. They may attend divine worship weekly, but as for theology, they never heard of it; theology, like philosophy, is an abstract, technical subject in which you take courses and major, if you like that sort of thing. The common religious and cultural bond of *Bible* reading exists no more. Both these young people and their elders (including university presidents, many newspaper editors, yes, and some historians) have not even an elementary knowledge of clerical nomenclature. They are not even aware that the word *Reverend* is an adjective, that it represents a quality, not a title—that it is not the Protestant equivalent for Rabbi and Father. This secularism has so affected our guild that it has become necessary to reaffirm for those who work on the American Revolution that relations between church and state and their exact nature (matters so relevant to current politics and education) played a determining part in the separation of the English colonies from their mother country. And so, it seems, historians, too, have been forgetting their past. In a very real sense, one may regard the series of volumes recently published by the Princeton

University Press as one long funeral sermon (or obituary) on religion in America.

Some curious by-products stem from the decline of religion. Toleration has been so emphasized by our public schools that today college students consider the most valid and socially necessary criticisms of any religious group as unfair, unsporting, and bigoted. Thus we have some grounds for the present ecumenical urge in the world: theology no longer counts or interests the majority of the faithful; and how they gape when told that where there is no mystery there is no religion. "Non est religio ubi omnia patent."

Painfully, laboriously, over a long term of years, men worked out series of rules, which they often codified, for getting along with each other with the least friction. Manners, courtesy, etiquette, and protocol made social, political, and diplomatic intercourse easier by reducing the chances of irritation. These were the rules men were enabled to live by together, and we find them in various forms among the Maori and the Iroquois almost as highly developed as in chivalry or *Il Cortegiano*, or at Versailles, because they were socially necessary and useful. The values they represented have now been distorted, shattered, have disappeared entirely, or at best are on the way out. Likewise, what we call taste—a sense of the fitness of things—evolved slowly, and with it came a deeper appreciation of beauty. Taste is entirely gone, today. With time, no doubt, fresh standards for human behavior better suited to the new day will be devised and accepted, but how will the meaning of these matters, so important in human history, ever be made clear to the generations to whom they are unknown or at least unimportant?

Today, in the cities, we see more people, but know fewer; and these are likely to be exclusively of our own kind (whatever that may be). The democratic urge for equality and the disappearance of the traditional social ranks have produced a resentfulness among many students (some of whom will become scholars) of anything that may be labeled "aristocratic." It is nevertheless discouraging to discover the naïveté in the current tendency to treat the merits (as well as the defects) of the class arrangements of earlier periods with such an absence of historical imagination and judiciousness as to cause investigators to overlook the obvious truth that the old systems were rationalizations of the needs and social conditions of the societies in which they arose—and, that for long stretches of time they suited men and served them well. Not a few aspiring young historians look upon the assertion that modern democracy would not have worked in eighteenth-century America or ninth-century France as pretty close to intellectual treason. With the poor, however, social classes of some kind will always be with us.

Like nearly any activity in the Western world, historical scholarship has

undergone a technological revolution, and we now possess, and probably will add to and improve, remarkable techniques for handling our raw materials, advantages of which previous historians never dreamed. Among other ways, bigness has struck us by proliferating sources and editing, thereby deluging us with an overwhelming mass of data for the study of the last one and a half centuries of history. The new age has built up a stock pile of sources and forced us to resort ever more frequently to statistics. "What is your method of sampling?" a sociologist inquired of me on my arrival at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. I suppose that my reply that those who work in the prestatistical age of history, which is *all* history save the tiny fragment of the last hundred years, do not sample, but seize upon every scrap of a statistic they can find, only confirmed him in the social scientists' conviction that historians as well as history are the bunk.

There are, however, numerous inescapable ironies about the dilemmas created by inventions of the new age. With more and more scholars employing all the tools and techniques, using all the data processing machines, and also those frightening projected scanning devices, which we are told will read documents and books for us, there is still no machine for digesting the sources. No longer is there, or will there be, the time in which to ponder at length the meaning of the old reliables among the sources.

Notwithstanding the incessant chatter about communication that we hear daily, it has not improved; actually it has become more difficult. In former days, the ablest historians were educated amateurs, or perhaps a better term would be amateur scholars. They were men who had previously been men of action: Herodotus, Thucydides, Caesar, Comines, Macaulay, the Americans Bancroft and Adams, and today, Churchill. These great writers knew life at firsthand, life which they described critically and interpreted reflectively for their readers. Historians of our Recent Past shared a common culture, a body of literary knowledge to which allusion could be usefully made. Everybody knew Alice, and about oxen being gored, and not in the Pickwickian sense. Historians, and their readers, were well "fed of the dainties that are bred in a book," but never so stuffed with mere technical data that they built up a sort of mental cholesterol.

Today we must face the discouraging prospect that we all, teachers and pupils alike, have lost much of what this earlier generation possessed, the priceless asset of a shared culture. Today imaginations have become starved or stunted, and wit and humor, let alone laughter and a healthy frivolity, are seldom encountered. Furthermore, many of the younger practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-

class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out. This is certainly not their fault, but it is true. They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour. In our graduate schools we are training a host of skilled historical technicians, but all of us here, I think, will have to conclude that very few of our colleagues rise today to the high level of significant generalization or display either profound analytical powers or marked narrative proficiency. Certainly it is a great event when we get some living characterizations or credible vignettes of the actors of history, and it is an occasion for prolonged applause when we encounter any appreciation of beauty, taste, or humor. What I fear is that the changes observant in the background and training of the present generation will make it impossible for them to communicate to and reconstruct the past for future generations.

Other changes, either a result of or a part of the Great Mutation, have produced specific and far-reaching effects on the historical profession, both as individuals and with respect to our capacities as the preservers, recorders, interpreters, and teachers of and about the past. We historians appear to have lost our former realization of the historical importance of the individual, of the human being. We discourse learnedly of peasants in the mass, as a class, as though each one did not possess an individuality and reveal the eccentricities we note immediately as we look at the paintings of Brueghel. "History is about chaps," the English tell us; yet neither they nor we seem able to remember that chaps still belong in written history. They are the most important part of it—the *hard core*, if I may coin a phrase.

Equally neglected is the vital, the significant, and above all, fascinating history of the family, especially in our own country. The radical transformation that this basic cultural, social, religious, and political institution is experiencing, if not its eventual elimination as a governing factor in modern life, raises the question of not merely who is to tell its story but whether future historians will be able to understand the central role the family once played in the long course of mankind's history before 1900.

Despite the lessons so richly and brilliantly taught by such American historians as Edward Eggleston, Charles A. Beard, James Harvey Robinson, and Arthur M. Schlesinger since 1900, that a sound knowledge of how people lived, acted, and thought, of the economy, and of social and cultural developments, is vital to any understanding of the end product, which is political action, more and more present-day practitioners almost assiduously avoid acquiring it. Instead they engage in what I call the retreat to politics, a flight

back to the old-line political history. Is this because, as a student told me last year, that the history of civilization is too complex to research on, organize, and write about?

I would hesitate to denigrate my colleagues by admitting that they have abdicated because the job is beyond their capacities. But I do want to ask if it is not probable that the future will be far more interested in the character of our civilization, in industrial and scientific advance, and the nature of day-to-day life in Europe, America, Asia, or Africa, than in the political minutiae of the first decades of the reign of George III, the grass roots of Jacksonian Democracy in Pennsylvania, or whether it was merely his faith that defeated Al Smith in 1928. Is there any demand from today's reading public for the old-fashioned kind of political history sufficient to warrant the vast amount of professional time devoted to it? The writing of general history is of immediate practical significance today, for never has the dissemination of historical knowledge (and not just political history narrowly construed) been more imperatively needed. Yet where is there today a single university among the English-speaking peoples where historical novices receive any extensive introduction to the history of the "Life" or "Civilization" of either England or America? And is there available even a passable textbook treating the social and cultural history of modern Europe? Such matters are customarily ignored, if not pooh-poohed.

Again, too many of us have enlisted in the "cult of the contemporary." In 1938, a prominent historian, in commenting on my doctoral dissertation on colonial cities remarked that now, of course, I would move down well past 1865 in my next researches, because few students and fewer readers display any interest in what occurred before the Civil War, and really not much before 1890. This proposal to jettison what are, after all, the prime qualities of history—perspective and balance—astounded me, and it still does. Correctly taught and studied, history embraces the entire past, and it is its *totality* that is so important, not just the Recent Past. And we owe it to the entire past, the past which supports us, to understand it to the best of our abilities; and we owe it to the future to make this past understandable. Too few of us fully appreciate the manifold merits of historical perspective. It saves us from becoming astigmatic about current events of the Recent Past. The corrosive and softening effects of time cause events to shrink to something like their normal sizes. We are living in parlous times now, and we can take comfort in this connection by recalling Professor William Haller's assessment of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England: "It was a period of storm and stress seldom equalled, and probably never surpassed." The long-

range point of view that the best historians take gives them and their readers an advantage that no other study of human society can impart, and it enables them to contribute some balance to an otherwise topsy-turvy world of scholarship.

Another result of modern complexity is the relentless drift into specialization. Department chairmen no longer ask for a young Ph.D. in the national period of American history since 1783; they demand a beginner whose training is on a narrow theme or in a very short period. Moreover our graduate schools are accommodating them at a great cost to the fledgling and to the teaching of American history. At our own Annual Meetings we make room on the program for railroad history—in a year or so I anticipate further fragmentation with a program on the history of the narrow gauge and then one on the air brake. A fully rounded view of the past, not just of periods, segments of periods, sections of segments of former times, is needed and is the only one that will give meaning to the facts, especially *selected* facts.

Because of these predilections of today's historians, the flight to political history, the indifference to the history of civilization, the cult of the contemporary, and specialization, there is a mounting tendency to abandon other kinds of history to the social scientists, many of whom are brilliant men but who are even more culturally impoverished than we are. Their greatest deficiency is their lack of human understanding, which is the first requirement of the good historian; they do not understand or care about chaps. They deal in statistics, with units and trends, hoping to deduce laws of society; their works are primarily systematic, reveal little if any historical sense, and they ignore chronology. Many statisticians and sociologists cannot fathom why the figures of a hospital in Rochester, New York, for the years 1950–1955, which indicate a psychosomatic relationship between recent bereavement and admission of patients to the hospital for illness have no relevance whatever for the history of medicine in seventeenth-century Massachusetts, or Europe in the fourteenth century. But those who have read Samuel Sewall's famous *Diary*, or accounts of the Black Death, know full well that an entirely different psychosomatic ratio would have to be worked out for those generations of people to whom death was a word spoken without euphemism and an event of almost daily occurrence. Realization that historical facts are unique in character, space, and time restrains the historian from trying to fit them into a rigid theory or fixed pattern—and here he can render emergency yeoman service to his unhistorical colleagues in other disciplines.

Perhaps the basic verity of all history is that the past was complex, and that this complexity serves to demonstrate that the Remote Past was of a

vastly different order, style, and tone from the Recent Past or the Present. Human beings were just as cussed, unpredictable, stolid, lovable, hateful, intelligent, and stupid then as now; the striking differences we observe derive largely from the mounting artificiality of the environment. In this respect the historian quite rightly opposes, or ought to oppose, certain highly unhistorical attempts at logical ordering and simplification of the past made by social scientists. The historian realizes just how fallacious and unscientific is the folk assumption that asserts that history repeats itself; and, impressed with the uniqueness of events, he prefers the concrete to the generalized or the abstract.

The conclusions to be drawn from these observations or this brief survey of what I have labeled the Great Mutation may be summed up with the remark that material and spiritual changes in the conditions of human existence have occurred since 1900 at a tremendous rate and with a speed that accelerates geometrically. We can no longer speak accurately of "the slow change of time." As I see it, mankind is faced with nothing short of the loss of its memory, and this memory is history. The great question is whether enough of this memory can be recalled now and hereafter to suit the needs and tastes of coming generations. Are we past hope, past cure, past help? The only cure depends upon how far our own and the coming generations of historians in this country and Europe are willing and prepared to face up to the challenge created by the Great Mutation.

As a prerequisite to any treatment, we historians must take stock of ourselves and our obligations. There are great excellencies, virtues, and merits in the study of history that are only too frequently obscured, or by-passed if they are ever fully recognized. Among them is that the study of history, properly undertaken, can be the most broadening, humanizing, useful, and exciting of all learned pursuits. This, not jobs, should prove the greatest attraction, for the reading and studying of history without experiencing the exhilaration of feeling and understanding are like the southern California custom of drinking frozen orange juice in the midst of a grove of ripe oranges.

The finest historians will not be those who succumb to the dehumanizing methods of social sciences, whatever their uses and values, which I hasten to acknowledge. Nor will the historian worship at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess, QUANTIFICATION. History offers radically different values and methods. It concerns itself with the "mutable, rank-scented many," but it fails if it does not show them as individuals whenever it can. What future historians will have to acquire, and it will call out their utmost efforts, is a

sense of individual men living and having their daily being, men acting in time and place, or there will be no comprehension. Only then will accounts of men in groups or men in the mass, analyses of forces, of trends, and the whole paraphernalia of graphs and tables make any sense to posterity. This history, and history alone of the studies of mankind, can contribute to the future of society.

Farthest from my intentions is any desire to fasten a label on what I believe we and posterity need from history. Nor do I for an instant mean to imply that *all* historians should confine themselves to the lines of investigation mentioned. What I want to bring home to you is that a thorough, imaginatively molded knowledge of the life of a former epoch is antecedent to all specialized forms of historical research and analysis. It is the irreducible minimum. Once possessed of it, those who so desire should be encouraged to pursue their favorite kinds of history: economic, institutional, intellectual, yes, even quantification, for we need to know about such matters. The broad, basic knowledge will serve such scholars well when they come to study men's motives and actions in groups and under peculiar circumstances. Lacking it, their history will become progressively denatured, barren, meaningless. Whatever one essays to do with history, he must be soaked in the life of an age if he is to give a good performance, and there is no public demand for bad history. We dare not abandon such concerns to the biographer or the historical novelist, whose very raw materials are drawn from the works of historians.

We must also recognize that history has severe limitations. As La Rochefoucauld phrased it, "History never embraces more than a small part of reality," to which we ought to add the gloss: and with each year it embraces less and less of reality. However, any former period that we select for examination has its own several degrees of reality, just as our own age has. But such admissions do not give us any excuse for not making every effort to live vicariously in the times about which we study, teach, and write so as to stir the imaginations of the classroom and library audiences. We must find a way to teach about and elucidate a world recorded but imperfectly in the documents and books, for there will fall upon future scholars the task of reading our versions of the past imaginatively as well as accurately.

Our immediate obligation is to strive to avoid, so far as possible, the one-sidedness and lack of balance that are caused by the fundamental nature of our training and work, for we must never forget that we are academicians, who, by the very closet nature of our craft, must try continually to keep in touch with present reality so that we may write and teach about the past

realistically and with a reasonable approximation to the truth. The younger scholars who served in the last war had this advantage over those who did not participate or who came along later, that they saw something of life in the raw before they retired to the study. The historian can only attain his full maturity as a writer and teacher when he succeeds in combining knowledge and understanding of the real world with his world of books.

Perhaps our greatest responsibility lies in the training of future scholars, and we can concur with point five of J. B. Conant's report in his recent *Slums and Suburbs* that "the place to begin to set standards in American education is at the last rung of the ladder—the graduate level." If, as Henry Adams thought, the teacher affects eternity, then it is the graduate schools that condition and turn out the teachers who instruct at the secondary, collegiate, and postgraduate institutions that demand our attention. Reformation will have to start there, and it must be "Reformation without tarrying for anie."

The brute fact of the situation is that as presently ordered the American graduate schools are not preparing the kind of historians that the future will need. Instruction in these institutions, save in rare and isolated instances, tends to sublimate, almost to suppress, rather than to arouse or invigorate qualities of imaginative and creative thinking. The only remedy I can think of is strong medicine; no mild prophylactic will suffice. In the future, students entering at the graduate level should be required to produce evidence of a broad and ranging general culture before admission; only then can we build on to that kind of education the ever more rigorous training needed from which the student can form a *Weltanschauung* suitable for his entry into the profession of historian. You will say that this means admitting only young people who are far superior to those we now accept. I reply yes; then let us do so. We might as well revive the cry of the Covenanters at Tibbermore: "JESUS, and no Quarter." I hear many people saying that this is asking too much. I reply this: that while it is asking far more than was previously or is now demanded, it is nevertheless the absolute minimum necessary for the survival of the profession. The future will demand more than most of us are now equipped to give, and without doubt we must attract more first-class, creative minds.

We must find ways to make the past a living past for those students. This will be particularly difficult for most of the urban-bred scholars of today if their work is to show any real, perceptive comprehension of the workings of human nature. The deficiency is environmental, for in former times such understanding was vouchsafed to historians who were raised in the countryside or in the small town, where the eccentricities, idiosyncracies, and individ-

ual traits of people were allowed free play, openly, and more often than not encouraged, because they made them more interesting. Psychologists, psychiatrists, and computers just cannot do this sort of thing for us. The deficiency must in some way be overcome.

Historical imagination must be required of all. We need to re-create the past, first in our own imaginations and then make our students feel, sense, share with their imaginations what life in the past was like. Because of the Great Mutation, which has separated the Recent from the Remote Past, this undertaking becomes Gargantuan in its proportions and steadily more difficult. But the obligation remains. In the study, the classroom, and in the writing of history every opportunity must be seized to stimulate and exercise the atrophied imaginations of scholars, teachers, students, and the reading public sufficiently to enable them all to participate vicariously in the story of mankind. Knowledge is not enough. "To know is nothing," said Anatole France, "to imagine is everything."

I would not have you think that I conceive of myself as suggesting anything new or impossible. Not a few of us agree that Herodotus tells us far more about ancient Greece than did Thucydides, the patron saint of nineteenth-century political historians. Francis Beaumont, father of the dramatist, said truly of Chaucer as a historian: "One gift he hath above all other authors, and that is by the excellence of his descriptions to possess his readers with a stronger imagination of seeing done before their very eyes, which they read, than any other than ever writ in any tongue." And so present-day historians will have to unite in putting forth with their minds and their senses one grand effort to feel, to understand, in truth to *relive* both the Recent and Remote Pasts. Only then will the historian have the right, like the player in *Henry V*, to ask society to:

Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;

 Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them
 Printing their proud hoofs i' the receiving earth;
 For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,
 Carry them here and there; jumping o'er times,
 Turning the accomplishment of many years
 Into an hour-glass: for the which supply,
 Admit me Chorus to this history.

The Great Mutation has made it necessary to focus more than ever before on the physical settings of the past and to become familiar with the several stages on which men played their parts. We cannot any longer afford the

luxury of indifference or oversight about such matters since the natural scenery has been changed to an artificial one. The scenes of history loom ever more important. All of us will agree at once that nobody can write or teach intelligently of God and the Middle Ages without a sight of the cathedrals. Consider, too, how much the experiences that Francis Parkman and Theodore Roosevelt had with the forest and frontier life enhanced the vividness and validity of their accounts of the American West. How sure was their touch because they had been on the sites they described. I remember very well that years ago there were those who thought I was wasting valuable time wandering up and down the streets and wharves of the five colonial towns I was studying; it was deemed that I might have better used my time reading documents. But I warn my fellow members of this body that we can no longer tolerate the purblindness of thinking that the scenes of the past can best be re-created in a library. As historians we cannot continue to be insensitive to the whole panorama of the arts and architecture, music, painting, and sculpture and concentrate exclusively on the literary remains of the past. Edward Gibbon did not get his inspiration in the Bodleian; it came to him amidst the ruins of the Roman forum. We must recognize that there is a climate of beauty as well as of opinion, and also that there is, or was, a "beauty of holiness."

Not long ago, the editors of a widely circulated historical journal allotted a major review to a biography of Buffalo Bill while they dismissed with a few words the most original work I have read on the great West in the last thirty years. This work treated the aesthetic and social response of the pioneers to their environment as reflected in architecture. The well-meaning editors did not think of this as history; their failure was one of the imagination. Art and imagination then, these are the talismen by whose aid the scholar transmutes his learning into history.

It will be an even weightier, but just as necessary, task for our successors to try to get into the minds of men long dead, to rethink their thoughts, to feel once more the sentiments that motivated their conduct, to gauge the tragic quality of their lives, to compare these with the present, and to pass the conclusions along to posterity in a form that posterity will recognize as suited to the exigencies of its own times. If, however, the archaeologists and historians can summon up the powerful emotions of Hittite nationalism as opposed to that of the ancient Egyptians by burning the lamp of research, these counsels are not chimerical. At this very day, the Harvard Plutarch, Clifford Shipton, brings us more intimately into communion with the New Englanders of the eighteenth century than the entire corps of scholars who

have sought so brilliantly to analyze the mind and to elucidate the political ethos that governed them. All ideas and institutions and movements are rooted in human experience, and are transformed and ruled by it. There is, however, the danger that historians will neglect humanity and be satisfied with rethinking the thoughts of those few who counted and not participate imaginatively with all sorts and conditions of men and women, in their fears, angers, griefs, hopes, satisfactions, joys.

Whatever techniques are applied in research and analysis to arrive at conclusions about the past, the communication of these conclusions in the classroom and on the printed page is a creative act, despite the inane debate whether history is an art or a science. Historical investigations such as compilation and editing can be carried on by cooperative effort—in the argot of the profession, by teams—but can anyone here recall any truly great work of history that did not pass exclusively through one man's mind? And it is this act, by the artist, that is paramount, that is essential to all good history.

All these things we must do and do well, lest we fall into the morass of abstraction. The farther we move away from the Old Past, the more dim and vague our images of it are bound to become. Historians must have some realization of how men who are not historians behave. As Marc Bloc insisted, we must never stray far from the concrete: "*Trop d'institutions, pas assez de réalités humaines.*" If we do stray, assuredly our history will be written and taught in the image of the present and not of the past; and it will consequently be reduced to a nullity. Are we to concede that:

The Past is like a funeral gone by,
The Future comes like an unwelcome guest?

If we do, like the aristocrats of the old regime, we historians will have lost our *métier*.

Tocqueville and the Problem of Historical Prognosis

EDWARD T. GARGAN*

ALEXIS de Tocqueville, in an extraordinary passage in his *Democracy*, anticipated the concern of modern historical scholarship for the comparative study of civilizations when he wrote:

God does not have to think at all in general terms about mankind. He sees with a single glance and separately all the creatures who compose humanity, and He understands in each of them the similarities that bring them together and the differences that leave them isolated from one another.

God does not have any need for general ideas; that is to say, He never feels the necessity of including together under the same form a great number of analogous objects in order that He may think about them more easily.

For man it is completely otherwise. If the human intellect were to attempt to examine and judge all the particular cases that demand attention, it would soon become lost in the midst of the immensity of details and it would no longer understand anything. In this extreme situation man has recourse to an imperfect but necessary action that helps him in his weakness but which gives further proof of his limitations.¹

Commenting further on man's need to generalize, Tocqueville observed that this happy fault in man's intelligence required him to realize that all his generalizations were flawed from the outset. He noted: "nothing in nature is ever exactly comparable, no facts identical, no laws indiscriminately applicable in precisely the same manner to several objects at the same instance."² Tocqueville welcomed the general ideas that serve to bind together our experiences, but he regretted the inescapable incompleteness, the loss of exactitude that accompany all extensions in our understanding.

Faithful to his own great generalization on the function of equality in modern history, Tocqueville believed that aristocracies—politically responsive to the needs of their privileged class—were unduly sensitive to the imperfection of general ideas, while democracies such as America—politically ordered to the needs of the masses of men—were, Tocqueville thought, almost hypnotized by the possibility of general explanations. In turn, it seemed to

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¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. J. P. Mayer (definitive ed., Paris, 1951-58), I, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, pt. 2, 20.

² *Ibid.*

Tocqueville that the French of his generation were also caught up in a frantic and insatiable passion to generalize. The English, on the contrary, appeared too rigidly fixed to the particular, and Tocqueville proposed that only as the very structure and constitution of their society altered would they develop the capacity to see things in their totality. He could not make up his mind as to whether such a development in England would be an advance or a retreat in that country's intellectual achievement.³

When Tocqueville reviewed his generation's quest for the middle ground that supports the valid generalization, he evaluated at the same time his own struggle to master the science and art of constructing the reasonably acceptable generic statement. He had appreciated from the outset of his intellectual life that this was the central methodological issue in his own work. In the opening pages of *Democracy* he carefully warned his readers that in developing his theme he would not hesitate to stretch his ideas and hypotheses to their breaking point. He did not believe, however, that such a procedure would subtract from the real and concrete character of his findings. "I have never," he wrote, "knowingly molded facts to ideas instead of ideas to facts." Accordingly, as soon as he established that the progress of democracy in Western history was the factual subject to be analyzed, then the logic he obeyed required that he also admit that his subject was equally "the future of the communities of Europe."⁴

Given his true subject, the future of Europe, Tocqueville then boldly asserted: "It must not be forgotten that the author who wishes to be understood is obliged to carry all his ideas to their utmost theoretical conclusions and often to the brink of what is false and impracticable, for if sometimes it is necessary to depart in action from the rules of logic, such is not the case in discourse, and a man finds it almost as difficult to be inconsistent in his language as to be consistent in his conduct." With this rule as his guide to observation, reflection, and exposition, Tocqueville drew the conclusion that if man, unlike God, must generalize, so too, unlike God for whom all past and future are present, man must attempt to reach a measure of foreknowledge. Of this obligation to attempt prognosis he wrote: "I have not undertaken to see differently from others, but to look further; and while they are concerned for the morrow only, I have wanted to think of the whole future."⁵

Tocqueville's care for "the whole future" eventually permitted him in his *Democracy* to refer less and less to the American scene and, especially in his second volume, to identify his theme as "modern society" and even more

³ *Ibid.*, 21-23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pt. I, 11, 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 13, 14.

concretely as "the destiny of mankind." This responsibility, which after nine years of labor he described as "the extreme limit of my task," compelled Tocqueville to formulate his many predictions concerning the prospects of modern society.⁶ The most significant of his suggestions are well known. They include his estimate that the individual citizen in the modern state would become more and more spiritually isolated and, standing alone, be less independent and less free than was expected from the promise of a democratic universe. At the same time that Tocqueville expressed his apprehension over modern man's destiny to become a member of "the lonely crowd" he was gravely troubled also by the conforming pressures of modern society. He predicted, as William H. Whyte emphasizes: "If America ever destroyed its genius it would be by intensifying the social virtues at the expense of others, by making the individual come to regard himself as hostage to prevailing opinion, by creating in sum a tyranny of the majority."⁷ Equally well known is his prediction that in a society where, at least in theory, the solitary and weak individual is sovereign, the state will absorb that power and with its institutional apparatus and centralized force become omnipotent, omnipresent, and, perhaps, severely despotic. Even more celebrated is Tocqueville's uncanny proposal that in the world's future two powers, Russia and the United States, would bid to determine the destinies of half the earth. "Their starting point," he wrote, "is different and their courses are opposite, yet each of them seems marked out by a hidden plan of Providence to hold in their hands one day the destinies of half the world." In this case it should be noted that beneath his reference to Providence Tocqueville plotted his projection on the mundane basis of the growth of these nations' real wealth and especially on the rate of their population increase in proportion to their neighbors' in the community of nations.⁸

Yet the magic quality and success of Tocqueville's prognosis are less important than the reasons that guided and gave sanction to his quest. This effort of men like Tocqueville, Auguste Comte, J. E. Renan, and Friedrich Nietzsche to perceive in some fashion the form of the future has been characterized by Karl Löwith as "the fundamental quest of the modern historical consciousness."⁹ For Tocqueville such an effort was only possible because the

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pt. 2, 335, 338.

⁷ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York, 1957), 438-39.

⁸ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 1, 430.

⁹ Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago, 1949), 227. A brilliant and profound discussion of this modern concern for the future, and the "predicament" that it involves with regard to the past, is developed in Hannah Arendt's *Between Past and Future* (New York, 1961). Equally relevant are the position of Martin Heidegger and his examination of the question, "Should history then have the *possible* for its theme?" (See Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* [6th ed., Tübingen, 1949], 394; secs. 72-76, pp. 372-97.) And Edward Hallett Carr has boldly

examination of history revealed again and again that nations and societies, starting from different points and following individual paths, arrived at similar situations, problems, and great alternatives in their common destinies. Tocqueville, it is true, freely used the idea that such universal results had a providential cast. Historical phenomena inviting prognosis were, as was the democratic movement, universal and durable. In their progress they could be seen to gain a strength and consistency that "escaped all human interference"; all events and all men ministered to their development.¹⁰

Tocqueville had learned from his reading of Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* and his attendance at Guizot's lectures on the *Histoire de la civilisation en France* to think of such continuous developments as providential.¹¹ But even when Tocqueville sought the sacred support of Providence to give force to his observations, the test that he employed was a profane one: the presence in any historical process of that which is constant and cumulative in impact, the extensive evidence that a process in history was unfolding toward an ascertainable present and dimly known future. In every case it is only the continuous record of the past that permits and commands such judgments and prognoses.

When hardly mature, and a decade before he finished his *Democracy*, Tocqueville employed this test of the individuality, durability, universality, continuity, and cumulative impact of the significant historical trend in a fragmentary essay on English history.¹² In this essay, composed with the help of a most conventional and even prosaic historical guide, an abridgment of John Lingard's *History of England*, Tocqueville first examined the transition of the states of Europe from a monarchical, hierarchical, aristocratic society and polity toward a democratic and egalitarian status. He traced the struggle for power between kings and aristocracies, a conflict that in the course of centuries proved too much for their brittle bones and resulted in widening their quarrels to include the nonaristocratic members of society, the middle

affirmed on this issue: "Good historians, I suspect, whether they think about it or not, have the future in their bones. Besides the question: Why? the historian also asks the question: Whither?" (See Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January-March 1961* [New York, 1962], 86-91, 143.)

¹⁰ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 1, 4.

¹¹ For Tocqueville's admiration of Guizot's lectures, see Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, pub. Madame Marie de Tocqueville, ed. Gustave de Beaumont (Paris, 1864-75), 10 (Tocqueville to Beaumont, Aug. 30, 1829). See also Tocqueville to Ernest Chabrol, May 18, 1831, Yale Tocqueville Collection, Yale University Library, B. I. a (2). For an account of Guizot's view of Providence in history, see Mary Consolata O'Connor, *The Historical Thought of François Guizot* (Washington, D. C., 1955), 71-81.

¹² Alexis de Tocqueville, "Reflections on English History," in *Journeys to England and Ireland*, ed. J. P. Mayer, tr. George Lawrence and K. P. Mayer (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 21-41.

class, and eventually *le peuple*. Tocqueville insisted that in order to appreciate such a development one had to disregard individuals and concentrate on "the march of peoples spreading over on top of each other and getting continually mixed up, but each still keeping something that it had from the beginning." In recounting this story it was the separate routes by which the English and French nations had arrived at a similar historical situation that fascinated Tocqueville and convinced him that a great and perhaps irrevocable trend in history was in operation. It is in this early fragment that Tocqueville first expressed his *idée mère* that became the basis of his many predictions. "As I said before," he wrote, ". . . after all, rational equality is the only state natural to man, since nations get there from such various starting points and following such different roads."¹³

In Tocqueville's mature work prognosis was possible only because the continuing democratic revolution in Western history had not yet removed the historical record of a culture that was aristocratic in form and substance. The shadow of the departing aristocratic order over the new society made it possible to examine and compare in exquisite detail the completed arch of the older societies and the beginning curve of the new universe. Tocqueville believed that the likely contour of the new society could be drawn, though in very light lines, because the historical draftsmen had the experience of tracing with considerable accuracy the institutional shape of the aristocratic order that had constituted Europe's past.

For this reason, in the second and critical volume of Tocqueville's *Democracy*, the major share of his attention is divided between the apparent emerging qualities of a democratic civilization and the historically formed spirit of the dying aristocratic societies of Europe. Tocqueville's study of democracy depends absolutely on his reconstruction and interpretation of the history of aristocracy. Only through the most precise and extensive consideration of every feature of the aristocratic culture of the past is he able to suggest the outline of the emerging society.

In *Democracy* Tocqueville's detailed account of the fading historical dimensions of the former society is truly astonishing. Not content with examining just the political institutions of the past, he also examined in depth, though with great economy, the intellectual life, the poetry, the theological sense, the architecture, the metaphysics, and the scientific attitude of the *ancien régime*. Pursuing more closely the spirit of the old order, he investigated the structure of language, the grammar, the rhetoric, the litera-

¹³ *Ibid.*, 21, 28.

ture, and the form of aristocratic thought.¹⁴ In every instance only this precise scrutiny of the past allowed and made possible the fashioning of suggestions as to the future.

Thus, after analyzing the development of the style and form of the aristocratic literature of Europe, Tocqueville felt free to propose that the polish, nuance, balance, and harmony of the earlier literature would be followed by a literature that would be less delicate, less sensitive, less grammatically correct, but energetic, realistic, and exciting. And, intrigued by the history and future of his own discipline, he feared, perhaps unnecessarily, that a tendency to employ more abstract categories and more abstract language in the description of human behavior would continue without resistance.¹⁵ The Saint-Simon of the eighteenth century was replaced by the Saint-Simon of the nineteenth century.

Tocqueville also reviewed the concepts of God and man, which were precious to the aristocratic mind and heart. He noted, for example, that the aristocratic order of the past could not entertain easily the idea of the unending perfectibility of man, the belief in progress as intrinsic to the human condition. In the future, Tocqueville believed, men fashioned in a democratic world would give themselves passionately to this belief. He suggested: "In proportion as castes disappear and the classes draw together; as manners, customs, and laws vary because of the tumultuous intercourse of men; as new facts arise; as new truths are brought to light; as ancient opinions die and others take their place . . . he [man] tends unceasingly toward that immeasurable grandeur that he sees imperfectly at the end of the long road which humanity has yet to travel."¹⁶

¹⁴ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 2, 11-93.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62-65, 73-74. Johan Huizinga praised Tocqueville especially for the "prophetic insight" involved in this observation. Drawing upon Tocqueville's suggestion, Huizinga wrote: "the scholar has staked out too large a claim for his thinking. . . . The result is what De Tocqueville saw happening so clearly. . . . A vague, indeterminate historical concept takes form, with all sorts of heterogeneous notions loosely associated in it." (See Huizinga's "The Task of Cultural History," in *Men and Ideas, Essays by Johan Huizinga*, tr. James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (New York, 1959), 44, 63.)

¹⁶ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 2, 40. Certainly after 1848 and continuing until the present, confidence in the idea of progress has been doubted by Burckhardt, Nietzsche, Spengler, and others. (See Georg G. Iggers, "The Idea of Progress in Recent Philosophies of History," *Journal of Modern History*, XXX [Sept. 1958], 215-26.) Yet sympathy for the truth contained in this idea is not absent from modern discussion. In 1959 Joseph E. Seagram and Sons, Inc., sponsored a symposium on "the future of man" participated in by Milton S. Eisenhower, Julian Huxley, Devereux C. Josephs, Ashley Montagu, Hermann J. Muller, and Bertrand Russell. During the symposium Muller, a 1946 Nobel laureate, insisted that following some "genetic remoulding for mankind, . . . there will be no limit to the possibilities of men's advancement." (See "*The Future of Man*": *A Symposium* [New York, 1959], 36.) David Riesman has felt obliged to argue: "It is fashionable today to sneer at the idea of progress as an illusion, fit only for an adolescent, Deweyan America, not a mature one which understands original sin and the dead weight of institutions. It is admittedly difficult to find unequivocal

The facets of culture that Tocqueville compared as the basis of his predictions are endless. He did not shirk, however, from this nearly impossible task which alone permits him to "look further." Not only did he compare such great questions as the sense of freedom in the past and present, but he also distinguished the relationship between father and son, the characteristic conduct of the lover and beloved, the bride and the matron; he discussed the taste for luxury, the educational goals of aristocratic and democratic societies, the conception of fame, of virtue. The composure and the sense of happiness and unhappiness of the past and present were compared. And when he had centered his attention on the inner peace or discord that occupied man in the past and visits him in the present Tocqueville was able to propose that acute anxiety would be the distinguishing feature of modern history. "In democratic times," he observed, "enjoyments are more intense than in the ages of aristocracy, and the number of men who partake in them is vastly larger; but on the other hand, it must be admitted that man's hopes and desires are more often disappointed, the soul is more stricken and perturbed, and care itself more piercing."¹⁷

After depicting modern civilization and its discontents in contrast to the psychological burdens of the past, Tocqueville suggested that modern society should develop a concern for the future that would replace the expectation that had sustained past ages of faith. In making this diagnosis he was especially influenced by his belief that in modern societies, as distinct from the past, decisions of great importance in political matters were made without forethought or plan. Overwhelmed by this feeling, Tocqueville did not anticipate the rationality and planning that would characterize subsequent modern states. Chance now seemed to govern; whereas in the past the durable interests of a kingdom or class consciously determined the weightiest decisions. Warning against the anarchical tendencies of the new society, Tocqueville advised: "The task of those in power is not less clearly marked out. At all times it is important that those who govern nations should act with a view to the future; but this is even more necessary in democratic and sceptical ages than in others. . . ."¹⁸

So greatly did Tocqueville fear the political consequences for a society that entertained no thoughts for the ultimate future of man that he felt compelled to propose that, as a part of their civic instruction, men be educated to look toward the final end. He wrote:

indices for progress, but I think it capricious to deny the possibility of it." (See David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education* [New York, 1958], 171.)

¹⁷ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 2, 171-255, esp. 145.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

When men have accustomed themselves to foresee from afar what is likely to befall them in this world and to nourish their hopes only here, they will become unwilling to always halt their expectations within the precise limits of this life, and they will soon want to free themselves from these limits in order to cast their looks still further. I do not doubt that by training the members of a community to think of their future condition in this world they would be gradually and unconsciously brought nearer to religious convictions.¹⁹

Yet, in proposing how the future might be occupied with a still more distant future, Tocqueville wove within the texture of his work an urgent demand for some discussion of the limits of prognosis. He was to meet this demand, not only in *Democracy*, but also consistently in all his later writings. In the last section and pages of *Democracy*, he was careful to indicate the limits that must attend all prognosis. He was especially anxious to caution against the pessimism evoked by the foreseeable crises awaiting mankind. "Let us then," he urged, "look forward to the future with that salutary fear which keeps us alert and in combat readiness for freedom, and not with that faint and idle terror which depresses and enervates the heart."²⁰

It was important for Tocqueville to identify the elements of fear and hope that accompanied his estimation of the future alternatives for humanity. In frankly admitting these anxieties, Tocqueville confessed to considerations that have been described by R. G. Collingwood, a modern student of "the idea of history," as unhistorical, not the historian's business. Rejecting absolutely any attention to the future by the historian, Collingwood wrote: "As Hegel put it, the future is an object not of foreknowledge but of hopes and fears, and hopes and fears are not history."²¹ For Tocqueville, however, the student of modern civilization could not cast aside those problems that evoke fear and hope. To do this would be to lose one's humanity. Tocqueville preferred to run some risks while still recognizing the frailty of all prognosis.

Having reached "the extreme limit" of his task, Tocqueville concluded by once more stressing the shortcomings of all prediction. As he closed *Democracy*, Tocqueville cautioned: "The new society, which I have sought to delineate and which I attempt to judge, has but just come into existence. Time has not yet shaped it into perfect form; the great revolution by which it has been created still continues; and amid the occurrences of our time it is impossible to discern what will pass away with the revolution itself and what will remain after it is over."²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 157.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 335.

²¹ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York, 1946), 120.

²² Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, I, pt. 2, 336.

Yet Tocqueville could not end his "extreme task" without reaffirming his view that "some principal traits" were *so* prominent, *so* pronounced, that they could be "discerned and pointed out." Here again he returned to his analogy of "the mind of the maker" to justify his effort to see things, though obscurely, from this height.²³ But even this admission that he was imaginatively attempting to approximate "divine contemplation" in human fashion did not wholly satisfy Tocqueville. He was disturbed by the thought that other students and theorists of society would construct, with material similar to his, a dire future for mankind. He feared above all that these prognostications would deny man his essential liberty which transcends all prognosis. And so in the last paragraph of *Democracy* Tocqueville warned and pleaded for theories and predictions based on a view of the human condition as one that is limited but essentially free.

I am not unaware that many of my contemporaries have thought that men are never their own masters here below, and that they necessarily obey—I do not know what—some insurmountable and unintelligent forces arising from anterior events, from their race, or from the soil and climate. These are false and cowardly doctrines which can never produce anything but feeble men and craven nations: Providence did not create mankind either entirely independent or completely in servitude. It traced, it is true, around every man a fatal circle that he cannot leave, but within this vast confine man is powerful and free, and so also are nations.²⁴

When Tocqueville finished *Democracy*, with his reflections on freedom and necessity, he reaffirmed his interest in this enduring question which would continue to be a constant part of all his subsequent study and effort at prognosis. His continued attention to the limits of successful prognosis placed in balance his theory and practice.

As soon as the final part of *Democracy* was published, Tocqueville sent a copy to John Stuart Mill. Mill responded excitedly to *Democracy* and enthusiastically praised Tocqueville's work on the "tendencies of modern society." "You have," Mill wrote, "accomplished a great achievement: you have changed the face of political philosophy, you have carried on the discussions respecting the tendencies of modern society, the causes of these tendencies, & the influences of particular forms of polity & social order, into a region both of height & depth, which no one before you had entered, & all previous argumentation and speculation in such matters appears [*sic*] but child's play now."²⁵ Mill then more fully developed his appreciation of

²³ *Ibid.*, 336, 337–38.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 339.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, *Correspondance anglaise*, pt. 1, 328 (Mill to Tocqueville, May 11, 1840).

Tocqueville's study in the important review of the volume he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*.²⁶

Three years later (in 1843) Mill finished his *Logic* and sent it to Tocqueville. Now completely occupied with his career as a deputy, Tocqueville could not find the time to read the whole work and told his friend this. Mill's discussion of the problem of "liberty and necessity," however, did attract Tocqueville's attention, and he responded with interest to this section of *Logic*.²⁷ In treating the topic of liberty and necessity Mill denied the character of inevitability to those causes and events conventionally described as necessary, in that they take place if nothing intervenes.

Although Mill strengthened Tocqueville's disapproval of necessitarian prognoses, he left room for carefully qualified predictions. Pleased with the middle ground that Mill established, Tocqueville complimented him on "the manner in which you have treated that eternal and frightening question of human liberty upon which the solution of not only moral studies but also polity depends." Continuing, Tocqueville assured Mill: "The distinction that you make between necessity as you understand it and *irresistibleness* is like a burst of light. It seems to me that here you have opened up a neutral terrain on which the two opposed schools, or at least reasonable men of the two schools [,] can easily recognize and understand one another."²⁸

During Tocqueville's political career he neglected his academic studies until after October 1849 when he was dismissed from his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Second Republic. Following that humiliating exit from office at the hands of Louis Napoleon, Tocqueville began his *Souvenirs* in which he reconstructed his experience and understanding of the Revolution of 1848. When Tocqueville reflected on twenty months of history (he restricted his memoirs to the period February 1848–October 1849) as distinct from centuries of historical development, the problem of freedom, necessity, and prediction took on another significance. In his *Souvenirs* Tocqueville again found the great uniform theories of historical explanation less satisfactory and stressed instead the role of chance in the destiny of men. As an actor in the play of history, he now could see sharply the place of the unexpected, the unplanned, and the undesirable development in human affairs. To describe this unstable and unnerving aspect of history that defeats prognosis, he fashioned his illuminating metaphor of the wind and the cord.

²⁶ John Stuart Mill, in review of Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, in *Edinburgh Review*, LXXII (Oct. 1840), 1–47.

²⁷ J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic* (2 vols., London, 1875), II, 419–29.

²⁸ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, VI, pt. 1, 344 (Tocqueville to Mill, Oct. 27, 1843).

It is necessary to have lived a long time in the midst of parties and in the very whirlpool where they move in order to understand at what point men mutually push themselves beyond their own aims, and how the destiny of this world proceeds as a result of, but often contrary to, the wills which produce it, similar to the kite which travels by the opposite action of the wind and the cord.²⁹

Guided by his metaphor of the wind and the cord, Tocqueville rejected all historical explanations that are closed to the prospect of the unexpected and the accidental in man's history and destiny. "For my part," he insisted, "I detest these absolute systems which represent all the events of history as depending upon great causes linked by the chain of fatality, and which, as it were, suppress men from the history of the human race. They seem narrow, to my mind, under the pretence of broadness, and false beneath their air of mathematical truth." Yet, Tocqueville would not surrender completely the possibility of analysis and prognosis. He continued: "Moreover, chance or that tangle of secondary causes which we call chance, for want of knowledge how to unravel it, plays a great part in all that happens on the world's stage, although I firmly believe that chance does nothing that has not been prepared beforehand. Previous deeds, the nature of institutions, the cast of minds, and the state of manners are the materials which make up these impromptus which surprise and frighten us."³⁰

In his retirement Tocqueville soon turned fully to the writing of history. He wanted to meet the needs of his generation for an explanation of the phenomena of the revolution that began in a quest for greater freedom and ended twice with the advent of Caesarism. Tocqueville's now classical work *L'ancien régime et la Révolution*, published in 1856, was one result of this inquiry. Once again, as in his *Democracy* of twenty years earlier, Tocqueville inseparably linked the past, present, and future in his analysis. In the foreword to his *Ancien régime* he promised that in his sequel: "I will try to foresee, though necessarily imperfectly, our future." But even before that work was done he felt confident that he could make some predictions on the destiny of France and Europe. "In the midst of the night that is the future," he observed, "one can discern three truths very clearly."³¹ These realities were the continuation of the democratic movement, the complete defeat of aristocratic establishment, and the vulnerability of democratic societies to despotic infection. On this he commented:

First . . . all our contemporaries are driven on by a force that we may hope to regulate or curb, but cannot overcome. . . . Secondly . . . these people who are so

²⁹ Tocqueville, *Souvenirs*, ed. Luc Monier (new ed., Paris, 1942), 43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

³¹ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, II, *L'ancien régime et la Révolution*, pt. 1, 73.

constituted as to have the utmost difficulty in getting rid of despotic government for any considerable period are the ones in which aristocracy has ceased to exist and can no longer exist. Thirdly . . . nowhere is despotism calculated to produce such evil effects as in social groups of this order. . . .³²

As Tocqueville pursued the sequel to his study of the *Ancien régime*, the task of following the many shifts and changes in the course of the Revolution recalled to him most vividly the unexpected developments that he had experienced in his own political career and participation in the making of history. This experience had taught him the great difficulties in making predictions on the final form of things. For this reason he drafted in his uncompleted fragments a paragraph in which he planned to admit that his history had to end obscurely. This obscurity could not be avoided, he argued, because in the study of the form of government created by the continuing French Revolution one "cannot yet definitely know where it is still going to lead."³³

It was also while preparing to write his further study of the Revolution and Napoleon that Tocqueville again studied the history of Rome and its decline. Rome's history was, he insisted, unique to its own time and not easily made to fit the historical experience of the modern world. Furthermore, he thought that the confidence Rome had exhibited in the promises of its eternity was a clear warning to the historian of the fundamental shortcomings of all prediction.³⁴

Yet, considerations of a methodological character did not exclusively determine Tocqueville's stress on the dangers and failures accompanying all prognosis. Tocqueville's friendship for Gobineau required him to read and think about that kind of prediction he had censured many times in his own work. He was, however, obliged in friendship to read Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* and to reply to Gobineau's incessant demands for appreciation and understanding. For his part, Tocqueville could only reject absolutely Gobineau's premises and predictions. "Your doctrine," he wrote, "is rather a sort of fatalism, of predestination if you wish. Very different, at any rate, from that of St. Augustine, from the Jansenists, and from the Calvinists."³⁵ Incredulously, Tocqueville asked Gobineau: "Do you really believe that by tracing the destiny of peoples along these lines you can truly clarify history?" Surely, Tocqueville pro-

³² *Ibid.*, 73-74.

³³ *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 343.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 319-22.

³⁵ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, IX, *Correspondance d'Alexis de Tocqueville et d'Arthur de Gobineau*, 202 (Tocqueville to Gobineau, Nov. 17, 1853). The translation is that of Tocqueville, *The European Revolution and Correspondence with Gobineau*, ed. John Lukacs (New York, 1959), 227.

posed, the traditional historical methods were more appropriate, those that "find the cause of human events in the influence of certain men, of certain emotions, of certain thoughts, and of certain beliefs."³⁶

Three years of troubled correspondence did not, however, lead Gobineau to give up pressing Tocqueville for approval. By this time Gobineau's predictions on the likely course of the West were centered on the Western world's continuing decadence and decline. Tocqueville would not accept the prognosis of such a physician, as Gobineau now termed himself. On the contrary, Tocqueville insisted that he would simply change physicians. In offering his response to the prognosis that is fatal, Tocqueville identified the greatest limitation that attends every effort at prognosis. This was the psychological certainty that all such dismal prognoses capture and hold the allegiance of men less securely than all other analyses on the human condition. Certainly, Tocqueville's own efforts at prognosis were included in his advice, when he responded to Gobineau: "Thus your doctor will certainly not number me among his clients. I must add that physicians, like philosophers, are often greatly mistaken in their prognostications: I have seen more than one person condemned by physicians who nevertheless became quite well subsequently and angrily criticized the doctor for having uselessly frightened and discouraged him."³⁷

Yet it is a prediction that Tocqueville made concerning his own destiny that reveals the heart of his entire concern for the past and future. Writing in March 1858, the year before his death, to his friend M. Freslon, Tocqueville proposed as a "new law" his observation that, contrary to conventional wisdom, men brought more passion to intellectual and moral issues as they advanced in age, rather than in their youth. "Men like you and me," he wrote, "appear to be very ridiculous enthusiasts to wise eighteen-year-olds." He then prophesied: "According to this new law in my centenary I should be all fire."³⁸ The "law" which Tocqueville hoped would hold true for himself, that he should be consumed as in fire for the cause of freedom, was the only law he wanted to find governing the destiny of mankind.

Unlike many other significant historians of nineteenth-century France, such as Fustel de Coulanges, Tocqueville did not have students and disciples in the conventional academic sense.³⁹ His suggestions on the needs and difficulties of prognosis were not methodically pursued by any historians

³⁶ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Mayer, IX, 203 (Lukacs, 228).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 266 (Lukacs, 292) (Tocqueville to Gobineau, July 30, 1856).

³⁸ Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Beaumont, VI, 441 (Tocqueville to Freslon, Mar. 16, 1858).

³⁹ For an account of Tocqueville's general influence, see J. P. Mayer, "Tocqueville's Influence," *History*, 3 (1960), 87-103.

specifically indebted to his struggle with the problem. The moderate rules he experimented with to govern reflections on the future have not been developed in any systematic fashion. Lord Bryce, Tocqueville's greatest successor as a student of modern democracies, however, paid Tocqueville the compliment of imitating him with his own guarded predictions on "the future of Democracy." Bryce admitted in his comparative study of modern democracies that all predictions were "vain." But with his characteristic common sense he added: "Nevertheless, since conjecture cannot be repressed, and the tendencies of human nature remain as a permanent factor, let us see whether men's behavior in the past may not throw some glimmer of light upon the future." And in further imitation of Tocqueville, Bryce's predictions were marked by his anxious meditation on the possibility that "the roads that have led or may lead out of democracy are many."⁴⁰

Yet, an interest in prognosis as exhibited by Tocqueville has not been easily accepted in the modern era. Karl R. Popper has severely condemned those who consider prediction possible to the historian.⁴¹ Convinced that historians who dare to predict deny to man his freedom, and even prefer totalitarian societies, Popper has forgotten the example of Tocqueville.

For his part, Tocqueville increasingly stressed the limits of historical prognosis. His historical studies taught him to appreciate the distinctive nature of historical reality, described at a later date by Friedrich Meinecke when he wrote: "*Individuum est ineffabile*."⁴² Still, Tocqueville was never able to suppress entirely a desire to see further. The critical issues of his own time made it urgent that he accept this interest in prognosis as a necessary though dangerous task. And Meinecke, in turn, illustrated this human tendency when he introduced his own fears for the future of the West by noting: "The fact that the water has risen higher round our necks . . . perhaps enables us to see even more clearly the danger of the special historical moment at which we are standing. . . ."⁴³ Tocqueville's historical predictions also had followed his experience that the waters had risen to heights that could not be ignored.

⁴⁰ James Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (2 vols., New York, 1921), II, 597-609, esp. 599.

⁴¹ Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (Boston, 1957).

⁴² Friedrich Meinecke, "Values and Causalities in History," as reprinted in Fritz Stern, *The Varieties of History* (New York, 1956), 288.

⁴³ Friedrich Meinecke, *Machiavellism, the Doctrine of Raison d'État and Its Place in Modern History*, tr. Douglas Scott (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 432.

The Panama Canal Lobby of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell

CHARLES D. AMERINGER*

THE decision of the United States in 1902 to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama resulted largely from the efforts of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell. These two men, who figured prominently in the Panama Revolution of 1903, conducted a lobby in 1902 to convince American leaders of the superiority of the Panama Canal route over other proposed routes. At the same time, in order to make possible Panama's adoption, they persuaded the French New Panama Canal Company, holder of canal construction rights in Panama, to sell its concession to the United States, and they arranged a draft treaty with the Colombian government consenting to the undertaking. Yet, while they did all this together, the fact that it was their joint effort has never been clearly established. An examination of this joint effort reveals new information on the decision that led to the acquisition of the Panama Canal.¹

There has been much confusion concerning the relationship between Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell. They have been described as close collaborators,² or as rivals working independently toward the same end.³ One study portrayed Bunau-Varilla as Cromwell's lackey,⁴ whereas Bunau-Varilla took

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¹ This article is based on the papers of Colonel Philippe Bunau-Varilla (1859-1940). In fifty-nine letter boxes and twenty-three volumes from the library of Bunau-Varilla, these papers consist of correspondence, unpublished manuscripts, notes, miscellaneous documents, pamphlets and papers relating to an isthmian canal, photographs, maps and charts, and press clippings. (Philippe Bunau-Varilla MSS, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

² Many authors reached this conclusion, but the origin of the view may be traced to the testimony of Henry N. Hall of the New York *World* before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives during an investigation of the Panama Canal affair in 1912. See *The Story of Panama*, Hearings on the Rainey Resolution before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, 62 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, D. C., 1913).

³ This is the general opinion of two excellent Panama Canal historians. See Miles P. DuVal, Jr., *Cadiz to Cathay* (Stanford, Calif., 1940), and Dwight C. Miner, *The Fight for the Panama Route* (New York, 1940).

⁴ Earl Harding, *The Untold Story of Panama* (New York, 1959). Harding was a member of the editorial staff of Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World*. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt tried to bring a libel prosecution against the *World* for its publication of articles implicating the Roosevelt administration in the Panama Revolution. Harding was given the task of collecting material for use in the newspaper's defense. The trial was never conducted, but much of Harding's information was used by Henry N. Hall in his testimony in 1912 before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. (See *Story of Panama*.)

most of the credit for America's adoption of the Panama route and assigned a secondary role to Cromwell.⁵ Cromwell's writings ignore Bunau-Varilla completely.⁶ Now, however, based upon a study of the papers of Bunau-Varilla, it may be affirmed that during 1902, at least, the two men worked together closely and amicably. This was true despite the fact that the reasons for their involvement in the fight for the Panama route were quite different.

William Nelson Cromwell was a prominent New York attorney with a reputation for salvaging moribund enterprises. He was retained in 1896 as American counsel for the French New Panama Canal Company. That company, successor to the bankrupt Panama enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps, hired Cromwell because of his influence in high places in the United States.⁷ Cromwell's main task was to combat interests promoting a canal across Nicaragua, but he also determined to make the United States "Panama conscious," and he favored the sale of the French assets to the American government. It is not clear whether the French company intended eventually to sell or sought hopefully to persuade the United States to be a partner in the undertaking. Cromwell, himself, admitted that his functions "just grew up,"⁸ and at one point his activities were so divergent from the company's policy that he was dismissed for six months. It was, in fact, through the influence of Bunau-Varilla that Cromwell was reinstated by the company in January 1902, and it was on that occasion that the two met for the first time.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla was active in the affair because he wanted to vindicate French genius and his own reputation and to save the money he and friends had tied up in the French undertaking. Bunau-Varilla had served as an engineer and contractor for De Lesseps at Panama in the 1880's, and he became a scorned *Panamiste* when the undertaking failed. De Lesseps could not conquer Panama as he had Suez, largely because the managers of his company were guilty of extravagance and speculation. The French courts recognized the futility of liquidating the De Lesseps company, and so they took the remaining assets and organized the New Company

⁵ Among the published works of Bunau-Varilla, the most complete is Philippe Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: The Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection* (London, 1913).

⁶ The papers of William Nelson Cromwell have not been made available to researchers. Cromwell's account of his activities may be found in a legal brief he filed in 1908, when he presented a bill to the New Panama Canal Company for \$832,449 in fees. Cromwell's brief is Exhibit A in *Story of Panama* [hereafter cited as *Story of Panama*, "Cromwell's Brief"]. See also Arthur H. Dean, *William Nelson Cromwell* (New York, 1958).

⁷ *Story of Panama*, "Cromwell's Brief," 206.

⁸ *Investigation of Panama Canal Matters*, Hearings before the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals. . . , 59 Cong., 1 sess. (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1906), II, 1081.

in 1893. They also secured restitution in the form of stock subscriptions from alleged profiteers. Bunau-Varilla, his brother, and associates were obliged to purchase 2,200,000 francs worth of New Company stock. In all, these "penalty stockholders" put up two-thirds of the 60,000,000 francs required to float the New Company, but they were permitted no voice in the management of the company. There was little hope that the New Company could complete the work, but Bunau-Varilla soon perceived that the United States might come to the rescue. As early as 1899 he began using influence in the United States on behalf of Panama. In January 1901 he came to America, where he lectured and made many influential friends, among them Senator Marcus Alonzo Hanna of Ohio. Bunau-Varilla was ready for the battle shaping up in Congress in 1902.

In December 1901 there seemed little question that the Fifty-seventh Congress meeting in its first session would enact a measure authorizing the construction of a canal to link the Atlantic with the Pacific. There were many reasons why this was so. The possible challenge to an American canal from Great Britain was resolved to the satisfaction of the United States Senate with the signing of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in November 1901. Partisan rivalry, which had delayed earlier action on bills favoring a Nicaragua canal, vanished when Democratic Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama yielded to permit House Republican William P. Hepburn of Iowa to sponsor the Nicaragua canal bill. Finally, the Isthmian Canal Commission, which had been created by Congress in March 1899 to make a detailed study of proposed canal sites in Central America, issued its final report in November 1901, in which it recommended the Nicaraguan route.⁹ Action was imminent, although the Nicaraguan route seemed to occupy the favored position.

Panama's situation, however, was not hopeless. The report of the Isthmian Canal Commission had indicated a preference for the Panama route on technical grounds, but had turned to Nicaragua because of the failure to secure a satisfactory offer of sale from the New Company. Maurice Hutin, president of the New Company, had refused to name a price and had become so incensed over Cromwell's insistence on the need to do so that he fired Cromwell and took over the negotiations personally in July 1901. In the end, Hutin agreed to sell, but requested that the price be fixed by arbitration. As a guide for the commission, he stated that the New Company valued its property at \$109,141,500, but the commission chairman, Admiral John J. Walker, refused to arbitrate and said the United States would pay

⁹ *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901*, 58 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Docs., No. 222 (Washington, D. C., 1904), 175.

\$40,000,000.¹⁰ Under these circumstances the commission reported for Nicaragua, but one commissioner informed the press that only the matter of price prevented the recommendation of Panama,¹¹ and another, George Morison, actually prepared a minority report favoring Panama.¹² Bunau-Varilla quickly saw the situation when he came to the United States on November 13, 1901, to lobby before Congress. Within a month he informed Morison, his very close friend, that he was returning to Paris to secure the outright sale of the New Company.¹³

Bunau-Varilla's return to Paris coincided with the annual meeting of the stockholders of the New Company, and he seized the opportunity to reverse the company's policy. The shareholders' meeting on December 21 was so stormy that the police had to be called in to maintain order,¹⁴ but Bunau-Varilla, in attendance with a press card,¹⁵ engineered the ouster of Hutin¹⁶ and cheered the adoption of a resolution authorizing the New Company's sale. Marius Bô, named to succeed Hutin, immediately sent the company's general secretary, Édouard Lampre, to the United States to reopen negotiations. Bunau-Varilla protested that only an immediate offer by cable could forestall action on Nicaragua, and he cited for support statements by Senator Hanna¹⁷ and Commissioners Morison and Oswald H. Ernst.¹⁸ He appealed to the directors and shareholders of the New Company¹⁹ and placed a full-page notice in twenty-eight French newspapers declaring that the sale of the New Company was the only way to wipe out France's shame in the abandoned ditch at Panama.²⁰ Bô surrendered and cabled the company's offer to sell for \$40,000,000 on January 4, 1902. Bunau-Varilla conveyed these tidings a day earlier to members of the commission and to Senators Hanna and Henry Cabot Lodge.²¹ On January 8 Bunau-Varilla embarked for the United States, but he was at sea only one day when the House of Representatives passed the Hepburn or Nicaragua canal bill by a vote of 308 to 2.

The vote in the House was a tremendous success for Nicaragua, but the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 135-40, 157-59.

¹¹ New York *Exchange Telegraph*, Nov. 17, 1901.

¹² New York *Journal*, Nov. 22, 1901.

¹³ Bunau-Varilla to Morison, Dec. 11, 1901, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 9.

¹⁴ New York *Tribune*, Dec. 21, 1901.

¹⁵ Press card, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 9.

¹⁶ Frank Pavey to Bunau-Varilla, Dec. 22, 1901, *ibid.*, box 11.

¹⁷ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 209.

¹⁸ New York *Evening Post*, Dec. 29, 1901; New York *Herald*, Dec. 30, 1901.

¹⁹ Bunau-Varilla to M. Dorizon, Dec. 25, 1901, and Bunau-Varilla to Henri Germain, Dec. 27, 1901, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 9.

²⁰ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 210.

²¹ Bunau-Varilla to Hanna and Bunau-Varilla to Lodge, Jan. 3, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 11.

Senate hurdle remained, and events moved quickly to give the Panama advocates encouragement. On January 15 Senator Hanna argued that the company's offer created a new situation, and he prevented his colleague John Tyler Morgan from reporting the Nicaragua bill out of the Committee on InterOceanic Canals. At the request of President Roosevelt, the commission met and on January 18 issued a supplementary report which recommended the construction of the Panama Canal. Commissioner Lewis M. Haupt later revealed to Senator Morgan that he had been in opposition until President Roosevelt personally explained to him the need for unanimity.²² Ten days later Senator John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, reputed as a master in steering measures through the Senate for the Roosevelt administration,²³ introduced an amendment to the Hepburn bill instructing the President to purchase the properties of the New Company for \$40,000,000 provided he could acquire a clear title and negotiate a satisfactory treaty with Colombia. If the President failed to do this in a reasonable time, according to the amendment, he should turn to Nicaragua. The Spooner amendment was sent to the Senate Committee on InterOceanic Canals, which voted to conduct hearings before making any recommendations on an isthmian canal. In the meantime, Cromwell had been rehired by the New Company and had re-entered the fray.

Bunau-Varilla was largely responsible for Cromwell's reinstatement, although it was Senator Hanna who asked him to arrange it on January 22. In turn, Hanna said his friend J. Edward Simmons initiated the request.²⁴ Simmons was Senator Hanna's banker in New York and president of the Panama Railroad Company, which was owned by the New Company and which Cromwell had served as general counsel since 1894. Nevertheless, Hanna had also been in touch with Cromwell, for on January 18 they both called at Senator Spooner's Washington home and arranged to confer with him on January 22.²⁵ It was, presumably, following that meeting that Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell met for the first time,²⁶ after which at 2:00 a.m. on January 23 Bunau-Varilla cabled his wife, Ida, in Paris and urged the reappointment of Cromwell as legal counsel.²⁷ As usual the company acted too slowly for Bunau-Varilla, and so three days later he warned his brother in Paris that the failure to rehire Cromwell would "alienate sympathies indis-

²² Haupt to Morgan, Apr. 24, 1902, John T. Morgan Papers (1865-1907), Vol. XIV, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²³ Miner, *Fight for Panama*, 124-25.

²⁴ *Story of Panama*, 22.

²⁵ Cromwell to Spooner, Jan. 21, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 11.

²⁶ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Jan. 22, 1902, *ibid.*

²⁷ Bunau-Varilla to [Ida] Bunovarilla, Paris [cable address], Jan. 23, 1902, *ibid.*

pensable for saving the situation.”²⁸ The following day Maurice Bunau-Varilla informed Philippe that his forceful cable had caused a special board meeting of the New Company and that Cromwell would be reinstated.²⁹ With Cromwell expressing his gratitude, the two men met on January 27 to map their strategy for the campaign ahead.³⁰ They saw that they had two jobs to do before Senator Hanna would openly advocate Panama in the Senate: it was necessary to formalize the company’s offer by means of the vote of its stockholders and to demonstrate the good will of the Colombian government.

The first task proved more difficult than anticipated owing to a provision in the company’s concession forbidding its transfer to a foreign government. Cromwell did not expect trouble since in April 1901 the Colombian minister to the United States had approved the company’s talks with the commission. Therefore, on January 28, he advised the company to call a special meeting of stockholders for ratifying the offer to sell, and he sent his partner, William J. Curtis, to Paris to help out.³¹ But the day before the shareholders’ meeting, set for February 28, the Colombian consul in Paris notified the company that it could not transfer its property to the United States without Colombia’s consent. The meeting was postponed, but the action made Senator Hanna apprehensive; Cromwell thus induced the Colombian minister in Washington, José Vicente Concha, to declare on March 7 that Colombia wanted the Panama Canal and would approve the company’s sale provided a satisfactory treaty could be negotiated with the United States.³² Cromwell then worked out a plan whereby a majority of the company’s stockholders would sign a statement that authorized the sale and pledged to ratify it at a future meeting.³³ In this way Senator Hanna was satisfied, and an open clash with the Colombian representative in Paris was avoided. Curtis was assigned the task of collecting the signatures, thus giving rise to a charge that he was buying up New Company stock for an American syndicate. These events demonstrated the difficult position the company held with respect to the Colombian government.

It was obvious that the company’s property was worthless without Colombia’s cooperation and that Colombia might, therefore, request a share in the company’s prosperity. In fact, some Colombian leaders felt that they

²⁸ Bunau-Varilla to [Maurice] Bunovarilla, Paris [cable address], Jan. 26, 1902, *ibid.*

²⁹ Maurice Bunau-Varilla to Bunau-Varilla, Jan. 27, 1902, *ibid.*

³⁰ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Jan. 27, 1902, *ibid.*

³¹ Bunau-Varilla to Maurice Bunau-Varilla, Feb. 3, 1902, and Curtis to Bunau-Varilla, Feb. 4, 1902, *ibid.*

³² *Story of Panama*, “Cromwell’s Brief,” 253–54.

³³ *Ibid.*, 260–61.

could get everything by waiting until 1904, when the company's concession would expire. These same leaders admitted that in 1898 the New Company had paid \$1,000,000 for an extension of its concession to 1910, but they argued that this was an illegal act of an illegitimate government, and they wanted to return the money.

This reference to political turmoil in Colombia touched another factor complicating the situation. During these years a civil war raged in Colombia, and its rulers were too busy trying to stay in power to give more than perfunctory attention to the negotiation of a canal treaty with the United States. The pleas of the Colombian envoys for guidance were ignored, and they had to rely on their general instructions, namely, to exact a sizable indemnity from the New Company, secure maximum financial benefits from the United States, and preserve Colombian sovereignty over Panama.³⁴ But whereas the Colombian government was preoccupied, it was not indifferent, and in February 1902 it replaced easygoing Carlos Martínez Silva as minister in Washington with José Vicente Concha, a tough, old politician who was not easily moved. Despite these circumstances, Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell had to secure a draft of a United States-Colombian canal treaty if Panama were to win.

Again, Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla took the initiative and in so doing influenced greatly the course of the canal talks. Cromwell became, in fact, the principal link between the State Department and the Colombian legation, since Secretary of State John Hay had no authorization to negotiate such matters with Colombia, and both Martínez Silva and Concha were unwilling to take the first step. Although the question of sovereignty was the most vital, the issue most discussed was the amount of the cash settlement and annuity the United States would pay Colombia for the authority to build and operate the Panama Canal. Generally Cromwell ascertained the wishes of the State Department and then pressed their acceptance upon Colombia. At the same time, perceiving that Colombia really wanted the canal, Cromwell determined to work into the text of the treaty itself the authorization of the New Company's sale.³⁵

Bunau-Varilla was likewise active in the negotiations. On January 31 he, Cromwell, and Hanna conferred with Martínez Silva. A week later he wrote the Colombian minister that he knew from experience that a private company could not complete the Panama project and that no European government would consider the work in view of America's victory over Spain in

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 251-52, 255-56.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 252.

1898. He concluded that Panama's only hope was the United States.³⁶ At the suggestion of Martínez Silva, who was about to return to Bogotá, he communicated these views to Colombian President Manuel Marroquín on February 23 and warned that unless Colombia reduced its money demands those backing Nicaragua in the American Congress would use the situation "to kill Panama."³⁷ This move yielded no immediate result, but there was no time for brooding since Minister Concha disembarked at New York on February 24.

The appointment of Concha was supposed to represent a stiffening in Colombian policy,³⁸ especially in dealing with the New Company, but the situation called for more tact than toughness. On February 26 Bunau-Varilla and the New Company's commercial representative in New York, Xavier Boyard, called on Concha. It was their purpose to outline the canal situation. Cromwell had hoped to come along, but he could not make it.³⁹ A few days later, however, he met Concha and apparently charmed him sufficiently to continue the role of intermediary. Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell exploded Concha's belief that Nicaragua was a bluff and convinced him that Senator Hanna would not work for Panama without Colombia's cooperation. This was demonstrated on March 13 when the Senate Canal Committee reported the Hepburn bill favorably by a vote of seven to four after rejecting the Spooner amendment by the same margin. Hanna declined to issue a minority report at that time. In view of this, Cromwell persuaded Concha to write Bogotá on March 20 that the passage of the Nicaragua canal bill was extremely likely and that there was a possibility of a rebellion at Panama in the event the canal talks failed.⁴⁰ On March 22 Cromwell told Bunau-Varilla that he had managed to get Concha to drop his insistence upon a fixed-period lease, but complained that he was getting nowhere with Concha's financial demands.⁴¹

As a result of this financial snag, the cooperation between Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla was intensified. The two collaborators dovetailed neatly, for whereas Cromwell had to move cautiously in order not to jeopardize the interests he represented, Bunau-Varilla, seemingly a private party, could act more boldly. On March 22 Bunau-Varilla wrote to Concha advising that Colombia should scale down its financial terms, just as the New Company had sacrificed in order to save Panama. This plea was not heeded, and

³⁶ Bunau-Varilla to Martínez Silva, Feb. 7, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 8.

³⁷ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 219.

³⁸ *Story of Panama*, "Cromwell's Brief," 251-52.

³⁹ Boyard to Bunau-Varilla, Feb. 25, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 22.

⁴⁰ Miner, *Fight for Panama*, 139.

⁴¹ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Mar. 22, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 22.

Bunau-Varilla spent almost every minute of March 25 planning additional steps with Cromwell in the New Willard Hotel,⁴² where they both stayed when in Washington. At 10:00 a.m. the following day Cromwell summoned Bunau-Varilla to his room to notify him that the negotiations had reached "a crisis" because Concha still held firmly to demands that the United States pay \$7,000,000 cash and an annuity of \$600,000 to begin sixteen years after the conclusion of the treaty.⁴³ Cromwell knew that the annuity was unacceptable to Secretary Hay. One hour later, at 11:00 a.m., Bunau-Varilla sent a cable, which he described as "incendiary,"⁴⁴ to J. Gabriel Duque, the editor of the *Star and Herald* at Panama. In this cable Bunau-Varilla explained that Colombia's financial demands were imperiling the adoption of the Panama route by the United States and urged the alerting of all who wanted the Panama solution.⁴⁵ Duque was prevented by government censors from publishing the message, but he made several copies which he distributed privately to influential Panamanians.⁴⁶ He also sent a copy to Concha, along with a very sharp letter. Twenty months later, Duque, too, was involved in the Panama Revolution.

The effectiveness of Bunau-Varilla's maneuver cannot be assessed with certainty, but in a few days Concha modified his stand, and a workable formula was obtained. On March 27 Bunau-Varilla told Concha what he had done and warned of "an explosion of deep and justifiable passion" at Panama.⁴⁷ Concha replied that Bunau-Varilla's action was unfortunate and held that the matter of money was secondary,⁴⁸ but on March 29 and 30 he met with Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell and agreed to a draft protocol stipulating \$7,000,000 cash and deferring the annual rent to arbitration. Bunau-Varilla was satisfied, and on March 31 he traveled to New York to visit friends whom he had been neglecting. Throughout the campaign he also maintained a room at the Hotel Waldorf in New York. Upon his arrival there he found a telegram from Cromwell reporting that he and Concha had just presented the protocol to Secretary Hay.⁴⁹

About three weeks later, on April 18, Concha and Hay agreed upon the so-called April Memorandum, which was the Concha Protocol modified in accordance with certain minor revisions suggested by Hay. The United

⁴² Bunau-Varilla to Cromwell, Mar. 25, 1902, *ibid.*

⁴³ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Mar. 26, 1902, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Bunau-Varilla to Isaac Seligman, Mar. 31, 1902, *ibid.*, box 10.

⁴⁵ Bunau-Varilla to Duque, Mar. 26, 1902, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Duque to Bunau-Varilla, Mar. 30, 1902, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 223.

⁴⁸ Concha to Bunau-Varilla, Mar. 27, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

⁴⁹ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Mar. 31, 1902, *ibid.*

States-Colombian negotiations for a canal treaty appeared to be at a mutually satisfactory stage and presumably needed only favorable action on Panama by the American Congress in order to be completed. This turned out to be an illusion, as later events demonstrated. Significantly, the first article of this draft treaty provided for Colombia's consent to the sale of the New Company to the United States. Concha took all these steps out of the conviction that Panama was running second in the American Congress, but without word from Bogotá, since instructions drafted March 24 were pouched and did not reach him until April 26. Concha then learned that his government had wanted him to act quite differently than he did, and the chagrined envoy sought to resign. He was further embittered when he found out that Hay knew the contents of his instructions weeks before, because the United States minister in Bogotá, Charles Hart, had reported them to Washington by cable.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla had completed the tasks that Senator Hanna required for leading the Panama fight on Capitol Hill.

Hanna had to move very carefully, so that his opposition to Nicaragua would not be interpreted as opposition to the entire canal project. The newspapers of William Randolph Hearst did, in fact, charge that Panama was a ruse of the transcontinental railroads to defeat any canal and that Hanna was their agent in hopes of winning the Republican presidential nomination in 1904.⁵¹ Nonetheless, supported by Senators Albert B. Kittredge of South Dakota, Joseph H. Millard of Nebraska, and Peter C. Pritchard of North Carolina, Hanna kept the Nicaragua bill in committee until March 13. When Senator Morgan finally took the Nicaragua bill to the Senate Steering Committee, he found the calendar crowded with such measures as the Chinese exclusion bill, the Philippines temporary civil government bill, and Cuban reciprocity. As late as April 14, Cromwell predicted to Bunau-Varilla that Congress would not get to the canal bill in that session.⁵² When the Senate Canal Committee reported for Nicaragua, Hanna's group remained silent, but six days later Senators Kittredge and Pritchard, serving on a subcommittee investigating the legal status of the New Company, issued a report that challenged the majority and declared that the company's rights were clear and that it had the power to transfer its properties to the United States.⁵³ Cromwell boasted to Bunau-Varilla that he and a partner, Edward B. Hill, were the real authors of this minority report and added that he was

⁵⁰ Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided* (New York, 1944), 437-39.

⁵¹ *New York Journal*, June 17, 1902.

⁵² Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Apr. 14, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 4.

⁵³ *Story of Panama*, "Cromwell's Brief," 249.

having it printed and distributed widely.⁵⁴ Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla, meanwhile, made use of the time Hanna gave them, not only to remove the obstacles to Panama's adoption, but also to provide the Ohio senator with the argument he would use in the Senate chamber.

In the preparation of such material, Bunau-Varilla served as the expert on engineering and technical matters. In February 1902 Bunau-Varilla and William Burr, a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and a professor at Columbia University, visited the Croton Dam in New York in order to collect data for defending the projected Bohio Dam at Panama. The Bohio Dam was planned at Panama in order to control the waters of the Chagres River, which at flood stage would menace the Panama Canal, but some engineers questioned the feasibility of this dam. Bunau-Varilla expected that it would come up in debate and briefed Hanna on the subject. Bunau-Varilla also undertook to revise a pamphlet that he had written in 1901 entitled *Nicaragua or Panama*, in which he argued the relative merits of the two routes. In order to attract busy congressmen, he decided to replace his text with a series of graphs and charts that compared Nicaragua and Panama on such points as the amount of excavation required, the number of locks, and the length of the canal navigation. The original pamphlet had mentioned the danger of seismic disturbances at Nicaragua, but this argument had failed to excite interest, and Bunau-Varilla omitted it in his revision. On April 6 he sent this paper to Cromwell, who was compiling the Panama argument for Hanna.⁵⁵ A week later, at the request of Hanna's secretary, Elmer Dover, Bunau-Varilla backed up his facts with page references to the final report of the commission.⁵⁶ At this point, Maurice Bunau-Varilla arrived in the United States, and Philippe spent the rest of April sightseeing in the United States, Canada, and Cuba with his brother.

April was a strange interlude in Bunau-Varilla's activities, but he was quick to return in May when a dramatic volcanic eruption at Martinique suddenly made exploitable the volcanoes at Nicaragua. Maurice allegedly came to America concerned over reports that Philippe was insane,⁵⁷ but the papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla indicate that he was acting rationally. Moreover, the debate on the canal issue was not expected before early June, and Bunau-Varilla had little to do, especially since Cromwell was keeping the Panama argument under wraps. Cromwell showed no misgivings regarding Bunau-Varilla's mental health because on April 14 he personally arranged a

⁵⁴ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, [Mar. 22,] 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 11.

⁵⁵ Elmer Dover to Bunau-Varilla, Apr. 7, 1902, *ibid.*, box 10.

⁵⁶ Bunau-Varilla, "Note for Hon. Sr. Hanna," Apr. 14, 1902, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 227.

letter of introduction for the Bunau-Varilla brothers from Assistant Secretary of War Cary Sawyer to Brigadier General Leonard Wood, the American commander at Havana.⁵⁸ At any rate, on May 8, two days after the volcano Mount Pelée snuffed out 25,000 lives at Martinique, Bunau-Varilla returned to New York. He immediately took one of his old copies of *Nicaragua or Panama* to editor Edward P. Mitchell of the New York *Sun*, who was in the Panama camp, and on May 12 Mitchell published an editorial that alerted Americans to the volcanoes lining the Nicaraguan route.⁵⁹ On May 10 and 12 Bunau-Varilla sent a circular letter to President Roosevelt and to every United States senator, in which he named six volcanoes rising from the waters of Lake Nicaragua and recalled that in 1835 the Nicaraguan volcano, Consequina, staged a forty-four-hour eruption during which it poured out every six minutes an amount of stone and ash equal to the total excavation of the Nicaragua canal.⁶⁰ While Bunau-Varilla was turning “disaster at Martinique into a victory for Panama,”⁶¹ Cromwell finished tying together the Panama argument and waited until the eve of the canal debate in the Senate to drop a bombshell.

On May 31 the Panama minority of the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals filed a minority report.⁶² The report was drawn up very well; printed on slick paper and amply illustrated, it differed appreciably from the traditional Senate document. It became known popularly as the “Hanna Minority Report,” but it was unquestionably the joint product of Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell. The report contained extracts of testimony of members of the commission before the Canal Committee the preceding February and March. These were selected to show that the commissioners favored Panama all along, but could not recommend it because of the New Company’s attitude. The technical argument, fully supported by citations from the final report of the commission, was a faithful reproduction of the paper Bunau-Varilla sent to Cromwell on April 6. The report even alluded to a scheme for a provisional lock canal that was uniquely Bunau-Varilla’s idea, and it warned that the Nicaraguan route ran through a volcanic field. The volcano argument was very up to date with a reference to a May 28 New York *Sun* news report that the Nicaraguan volcano, Momotombo, had erupted on March 24. Cromwell, incidentally, told Bunau-Varilla that he had the original

⁵⁸ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Apr. 14, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 4.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 241–42.

⁶⁰ Bunau-Varilla to Sen. ———, May 12, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

⁶¹ Bunau-Varilla to John Bigelow, May 13, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶² *Isthmian Canal, Views of the Minority of the Committee on Interoceanic Canals*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Report, No. 783, pt. 2 (Washington, D. C., submitted May 31, 1902).

report of this eruption as it appeared in the Nicaraguan press.⁶³ The minority report included the Kittredge-Pritchard report concerning the validity of the New Company's title, and it concluded by recommending the adoption of the Spooner amendment in place of House Bill Number 3110 (the Hepburn bill). The battle lines were drawn for the great canal debate scheduled for June 4 on the Senate calendar.

Hanna assumed the burden of speechmaking in the Senate, but Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell gave him complete support and supplied him with any information he needed and ran any errand required. Before the debate started, Cromwell notified Bunau-Varilla that Hanna would speak on June 5 in "his simple and direct way" and, in order to avoid attacks, would refrain from using material obviously prepared by others.⁶⁴ Hanna wished particularly that Bunau-Varilla would have his set of diagrams comparing Nicaragua and Panama printed under his own name.⁶⁵ Bunau-Varilla, therefore, remained in New York until June 5 arranging the printing of his paper under the title *Comparative Characteristics of Nicaragua and Panama*. Because this took longer than anticipated, a concerned Cromwell telegraphed Bunau-Varilla on June 5 to repeat that Hanna was speaking that day and to state that he had placed many of Bunau-Varilla's papers "in his package."⁶⁶ He also asked Bunau-Varilla to mail all available copies of his pamphlet. Bunau-Varilla immediately arranged to have one hundred copies of his paper sent to the New Willard Hotel, and he entrained for Washington, where he arrived at 1:00 a.m. on June 6. There he found additional instructions from Cromwell for sending the paper to the sergeant at arms of the Senate chamber for distribution.⁶⁷ As Cromwell had stated, Hanna started his speech on June 5, but after two hours he was too fatigued to continue, and he postponed the conclusion of his remarks until the following day. When he resumed, Bunau-Varilla's paper was on the desk of every senator. Senator Morgan looked at it and said, "I have seen nothing so elegant in letterpress and illustration, unless it is the edition of the report of the minority of the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals."⁶⁸ On June 6 Bunau-Varilla joined Cromwell in the Senate gallery for the second day of Hanna's address.

The speech that Hanna delivered to the Senate on June 5 and 6, 1902, was the best of his career, and it has been ranked among the most famous con-

⁶³ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, May 31, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

⁶⁴ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, June 3, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Bunau-Varilla to Cromwell, May 31, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, June 5, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, June 6, 1902, *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Story of Panama*, 647.

gressional addresses, but at the time it drew an angry rebuttal from the pro-Nicaragua elements, who questioned Hanna's sincerity and charged that Cromwell actually wrote it and rehearsed the senator. Hanna overcame the obstacle that he was not a good public speaker by displaying a thorough understanding of the canal question. He spoke extemporaneously, but his secretary sat at his elbow armed with a formidable file of documents and papers. Senator Orville Platt of Connecticut declared that he had not heard a more effective address during his time in the Senate,⁶⁹ and others were certain that it changed votes.⁷⁰ The first attacks on the speech concentrated on the volcano argument, and a Washington newspaper printed a cartoon showing Hanna at an easel painting smoking volcanoes while two figures, one labeled "Panama Co." and the other representing railroad magnate J. J. Hill, stood watching over his shoulder admiringly.⁷¹ James Creelman, the spokesman for the pro-Nicaragua Hearst press, called Hanna an "alarming geologist" and stated that he spoke "surrounded by maps dotted with red, [pointing] out danger spots in the path the railroad lobby [did not] want."⁷² Creelman wrote contemptuously that Hanna spoke to a "drowsy Senate chamber" and a "drooping audience in the hot galleries," but that Cromwell, "the shrewd lawyer of the corrupt Panama scheme," sat smiling as he watched a scene he helped set by his "nightly visits" to Hanna's house.⁷³ The strongest attacks directed against the Panama partisans and especially Cromwell, however, were those of Senator Morgan, who charged that the lawyer had been behind every move since 1896 to frustrate American action on an isthmian canal and that he was the real author of the Spooner amendment and the "Hanna Minority Report."⁷⁴ Morgan denounced Cromwell as a "marplot" and regretted that it had been his distasteful duty to expose him.⁷⁵ The canal debate was not entirely acrimonious, however, and there was much responsible argument on the merits of the respective canal routes.

⁶⁹ Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna* (New York, 1912), 384.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; see also Thomas Beer, *Hanna, Crane, and the Mauve Decade* (New York, 1941), 601-602.

⁷¹ *Washington Evening Star*, June 6, 1902 (reprinted in DuVal, *Cadiz to Cathay*, opposite page 163).

⁷² *New York Journal*, June 6, 1902.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1902.

⁷⁴ *Story of Panama*, 650-52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 652. In 1903, Senator Morgan prepared a letter to Colonel Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, in which he told of "grey wolves" in the Senate who during the debate on the Spooner amendment sought to influence the votes of fellow senators by offering either money or patronage. Morgan wrote that Senator [Richard F.] Pettigrew offered Senator [Fred T.] DuBois of Idaho ten thousand dollars cash for his vote and that Hanna promised Senator Harris a place on the commission if he would vote for Panama. Morgan did not send this letter because he feared Watterson would not respect his confidence. (Morgan MSS, Vol. XIX.)

Following Hanna's speech, Bunau-Varilla actively resumed the role of consulting engineer for the Panama side. He supplied the technical data for fending the shots of Senators John H. Mitchell of Oregon and William A. Harris of Kansas, who declared that a sea level canal was not feasible at Panama owing to the floods of the Chagres River and that, therefore, the issue was settled since even Ferdinand de Lesseps had admitted that Nicaragua offered the best route for a lock canal. On June 9, after a conference with Cromwell,⁷⁶ Bunau-Varilla prepared a twenty-page memorandum for Hanna that sought to prove the practicability of a sea level canal at Panama. The commission, he wrote, proposed to control the Chagres by widening the canal and by building an earth dam at Bohio, which, he added, was less vulnerable to seismic disturbances than the projected Conchuda Dam of masonry at Nicaragua.⁷⁷ This information was used in the discussions on June 10, but Senator Harris replied with a detailed criticism of the Bohio Dam project that asserted, as its major point, that men could not work at the depths required for laying its foundation. Bunau-Varilla had studied that matter with Professor Burr the preceding February, and so he asked Burr to come to Washington to help prepare a rebuttal.⁷⁸ On June 11 Burr met with Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell and supplied them with figures showing that men had worked in pressurized caissons at depths of over one hundred feet in constructing the New York East River Bridge, completed in 1902. He attested to the feasibility of the Bohio Dam and agreed to record his views in a letter to Hanna so that the senator could use it as an authority in debate.⁷⁹ In this way, the questions raised by Harris were effectively quashed, but Bunau-Varilla was not satisfied with the way things were going. He recognized that the senators were laymen and that they cared little about matters of earth dams or pressurized caissons. Moreover, the one argument that he thought would arouse interest, that of the volcanoes, had so far made little impression.

When the canal debate was a little over a week old, therefore, Bunau-Varilla devised a means of dramatizing the volcano argument and scored an unforgettable victory. Senator Morgan had been quite successful in overcoming the volcano scare by reading a letter in the Senate on June 3 in which Nicaraguan President José Zelaya repudiated reports of recent volcanic activity in his country.⁸⁰ The Panama partisans seemed unable to counteract

⁷⁶ Bunau-Varilla to Hanna, June 7, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

⁷⁷ Bunau-Varilla to Hanna (memo), June 9, 1902, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Bunau-Varilla to Burr, June 10, 1902, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Burr to Bunau-Varilla, June 12, 1902, *ibid.*

⁸⁰ DuVal, *Cadiz to Cathay*, 163-64.

this maneuver. On June 11 Bunau-Varilla delivered to every senator and representative a copy of that day's New York *Sun* containing an editorial describing the Nicaragua volcano, Omotepe. The following day he peddled papers again, so that every congressman might read another *Sun* editorial entitled "A Question of Veracity," which challenged President Zelaya by reproducing all available accounts of Momotombo's March 24 eruption. None of this brought results, and Bunau-Varilla believed that he needed something special to refute Zelaya. Then, "by a sudden inspiration," he remembered that in his 1901 pamphlet he had described a Nicaraguan postage stamp which showed Momotombo "belching forth in magnificent eruption." Here was an official document showing the way in which Nicaraguans "characterized their soil," and so Bunau-Varilla obtained ninety of these stamps from philatelic dealers in Washington and affixed them to sheets of paper bearing the caption "An official witness of the volcanic activity of Nicaragua."⁸¹ On June 16 he distributed the stamps to each senator, and he could boast that they contributed to Panama's victory three days later. This was one of the most famous episodes in the Frenchman's career, and, although its importance may be exaggerated, it attracted much attention and placed on the defensive those who were trying to minimize the danger from volcanoes.

Cromwell apparently had no part in this maneuver, but he was extremely busy trying to secure votes for Panama, as he informed Bunau-Varilla in the following note penned on New Willard stationery on the evening of June 17⁸²:

Dear Varilla:

I have positive assurance that Mr. Clarke [*sic*] of Montana will vote *against* P— There is no doubt of this for he tried to persuade another Senator to vote for N. this afternoon—as did also Bacon and Daniels.

You felt so *sure* of Clark and said I might dismiss him from doubt, that I suggest that you at *once* see him. I am going on *other* urgent matters of similar character.

Hastily
WNC.

Bunau-Varilla spent all of June 18 working vainly to win Senator William A. Clark's vote, but despite this setback the Panama forces were victorious the next day.

The passage of the Spooner amendment was a brilliant achievement in lobbying, for in six months Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell, behind the enormous influence of Hanna, had reversed a decade-old sentiment in America

⁸¹ Bunau-Varilla, *Panama*, 247.

⁸² Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, June 17, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

favoring Nicaragua. The vote for the Panama Canal in the Senate on June 19 was 67 to 6; the balloting on the motion to substitute the Hepburn bill with the Spooner amendment, however, was much closer and showed more accurately the relative strength of the rival factions. On the next day a House-Senate Conference Committee met to work out the differences in their respective canal bills. Hepburn of the House and Morgan of the Senate held out until June 25. Others raised the white flag earlier; publisher Hearst, still suspicious, believed that Panama was better than no canal at all, and he urged Congress to call the "bluff" of the railroads by voting for the Spooner amendment.⁸³ On June 26 the House reversed its previous stand and voted 260 to 8 for the Panama Canal. Cromwell crowed to Bunau-Varilla, "our bill passed."⁸⁴ Well-wishers, including Minister Concha,⁸⁵ congratulated the two lobbyists, but Hanna cautioned restraint. He pointed out that Nicaragua still had a chance if they could not fulfill the provisions of the Spooner amendment, and, consequently, they would have to devote their "very best attention to the matter for some time yet."⁸⁶

Hanna was only too right because the most difficult chapter in the Panama story was yet to come. The treaty with Colombia became a political football both in Washington and Bogotá, and in the summer of 1903 Cromwell turned to the Panamanians themselves for a solution. He used the employees of the Panama Railroad to foment a separatist movement at Panama, but when the Colombian minister in Washington discovered his activities, he deserted the conspirators and fled to Paris to consult the New Company. Virtually in mid-ocean he passed Bunau-Varilla, who was coming the other way. Bunau-Varilla took over where Cromwell left off, saw the Panama Revolution through, became the first minister of Panama to the United States, and wrote the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. There are charges, of course, that Bunau-Varilla was called to the United States to fill in for Cromwell, who could not openly work for Panama's independence without endangering the New Company's property. Bunau-Varilla denied this assertion, and his published memoirs treat Cromwell scornfully.

The papers of Bunau-Varilla do not illuminate the charge that Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell continued to collaborate in 1903. For this reason, the evidence of the lobby of these two in 1902 is most significant. On the other hand, there is nothing in Bunau-Varilla's papers between the passage of the Spooner amendment and the Panama Revolution that would indicate a

⁸³ New York *Journal*, June 21, 1902.

⁸⁴ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, June 26, 1902, Bunau-Varilla MSS, box 10.

⁸⁵ Concha to Bunau-Varilla, June 19, 1902, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Hanna to Bunau-Varilla, June 27, 1902, *ibid.*

rift between the two men. When Bunau-Varilla sailed from the United States for France on July 3, 1902, he found in his stateroom a gift of wine and fruit from Cromwell, for which the Frenchman was profusely grateful.⁸⁷ Among Bunau-Varilla's papers, the last letter that the two exchanged was on August 14, 1902, during a visit to Paris by Cromwell. It was a cordial letter from Cromwell, who hoped that he and his wife would have a chance to dine with the Bunau-Varillas.⁸⁸ Whether or not other messages were suppressed remains unanswered, but there is one manuscript among the Bunau-Varilla collection which raises serious questions. On November 10, 1903, one week after the Panama Revolution and following Bunau-Varilla's appointment as minister of Panama, William J. Curtis, Cromwell's law partner, wrote the following to Bunau-Varilla:

My faithful John informs me you are going to Washington tonight, and as I cannot see you for several hours owing to your dinner engagement I take this means of delivering a message from the President whom I saw this morning. He said: "please tell Mr. Varilla, for me, that I think it would be wise if he avoided any public statements or interviews."

Permit me to suggest that it would be well to obtain from the Consuls the exact credentials of the Commission that is to arrive next Tuesday, in order that it may be clear that there is no possible conflict of authority in the negotiations of the treaty. We are advised that they have *full powers*. This may be a mistake—I hope it is.

I shall return to Washington on Thursday.⁸⁹

This is an exciting postscript to the story of the collaboration in 1902 of Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell and presents the intriguing possibility that the history of the Panama Revolution of 1903 may, too, warrant some re-writing.

⁸⁷ Bunau-Varilla to Cromwell, July 3, 1902, *ibid.*, box 11.

⁸⁸ Cromwell to Bunau-Varilla, Aug. 14, 1902, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Curtis to Bunau-Varilla, Nov. 10, 1903, *ibid.*, box 1.

English History, 1558-1640: A Bibliographical Survey

PEREZ ZAGORIN*

MY purpose in the following pages is to take a selective view of the writings on Elizabethan and early Stuart history, which have appeared within the past two decades or so.¹ Brief as this period is, and despite the interruption to historical scholarship caused by almost six years of war, there can be no doubt that the study of the age lying between the accession of Queen Elizabeth I and the meeting of the Long Parliament has never been in so flourishing a state.² It seems likely that more research is now devoted to it, in proportion to other parts of English history, than ever before. Unfamiliar areas have been explored, fresh problems propounded, and new methods of investigation applied. Established views, hallowed for years by an apostolic succession of clichés, have been deprived of orthodoxy. While an increasing number of younger scholars have dedicated themselves to profitable work in the field, the fundamental contributions resulting from the researches of some of our veteran historians show that there are still giants in the land.³

I shall begin with political and constitutional history, as it is here that some of the outstanding advances have been achieved. For the reign of Elizabeth, no work of recent years stands higher in importance than the

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¹ This article is one of a series of bibliographical studies sponsored by the Conference on British Studies under the editorship of Elizabeth Chapin Furber. Those already published are Philip D. Curtin, "The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Oct. 1959), 72-91; Maurice duP. Lee, Jr., "Scottish History Since 1940," *Canadian Historical Review*, XL (Dec. 1959), 319-32; Henry R. Winkler, "Some Recent Writings on Twentieth-Century Britain," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 32-47; Lacey B. Smith, "The 'Taste for Tudors' Since 1940," *Studies in the Renaissance*, VII (Sept. 1960), 167-83; Paul H. Hardacre, "Writings on Oliver Cromwell Since 1929," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (Mar. 1961), 1-14; Margaret Hastings, "High History or Hack History: England in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XXXVI (Apr. 1961), 225-53; Robert Walcott, "The Later Stuarts (1660-1714): Significant Work of the Last Twenty Years (1939-1959)," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (Jan. 1962), 352-70.

² An estimate of the trends and opportunities in Tudor and Stuart scholarship is contained in the report of a conference held at the Folger Shakespeare Library to commemorate the fourth centenary of Queen Elizabeth's accession. (See *Tudor and Stuart History* [Washington, D. C., 1959].)

³ A full listing of works on the Tudor period up to 1957, with a brief sampling of a few that appeared thereafter, will be found in the second edition of *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603*, ed. Conyers Read (2d ed., New York, 1959). About 2,500 titles have been added to this new edition over the first, which appeared in 1933. A second edition of *Bibliography of British History: Stuart Period, 1603-1714*, ed. Godfrey Davies (Oxford, Eng., 1928), is announced and will appear under the editorship of Professor Mary F. Keeler.

masterly volumes in which Professor Sir John Neale first told the full story of the Elizabethan Commons. The first, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (London, 1949), anatomizes the lower house as an institution. The types and quality of members are depicted, a number of elections in county and borough described, and procedure explained. Neale conclusively answers in the negative the question whether the government packed the House, and he shows how the normal processes of election operated without much deliberate intervention to assure the court a substantial representation in Parliament. The remaining two volumes, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581* (London, 1953), and *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584-1601* (London, 1957), form a consecutive narrative of the parliamentary history of the reign. Neale used a large quantity of new material in constructing his great study. He assembled fresh data on Elizabethan M.P.'s. New speeches and private members' journals of proceedings have come to light, so that Sir Simonds D'Ewes's *Journal* has ceased to be the source par excellence for the parliamentary transactions of these years.⁴ It is very much to be hoped that the most important of these journals, such as those for 1572, will be published *in extenso*.⁵

The picture of Parliament that Neale has painted is not only far richer in detail and more dense with life than any before: it also materially alters the conception previously held respecting the development of the Commons. Most significant, it has revealed that the extent of organized opposition to the government's measures was very much stronger in the earlier years of the reign than had been realized. The notion that Parliament raised itself to defy the Queen only when the country had been released from the Spanish danger after 1588 must be definitely discarded. As the new evidence makes plain, apprehension over the succession, patriotic wrath against Mary Stuart, and dislike of Elizabeth's politique policy led members into frequent collision with the Queen from the 1560's onward. Neale finds the mainspring of this opposition in the Puritan members. It was they, he says, who "taught the House of Commons . . . the art of opposition, which might be considered the outstanding contribution of the Elizabethan period to Parliamentary history. . . ."⁶

⁴ Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1682).

⁵ Neale describes the journal of this Parliament kept by Thomas Cromwell as rivaling in interest and importance that of Heywood Townshend (Heywood Townshend, *Historical Collections, An Exact Account of the Last Four Parliaments of Elizabeth* [London, 1680]) for the Parliament of 1601 and remarks that another anonymous journal for 1572 is almost as valuable as Cromwell's. (See Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581*, 243.)

⁶ *Id.*, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584-1601*, 436.

Despite the breadth of Neale's synthesis and the firmness of many of his conclusions, numerous aspects of parliamentary history still await investigation, and certain problems continue to perplex. Some important statutes of the reign, for example, are barely touched in his work, though one may surmise that new information could now be presented on their passage in the House. The description of the composition of the Commons, trenchant and artful as it is, is only an outline. By means of the biographical approach, much more can be done to analyze the characteristics of the members socially, economically, and in other ways. Here we shall have to await the appearance of the great history of Parliament now in progress. Neale is himself the director of the Elizabethan section and has said that his period will contain the biographies of about 2,700 members, most of them not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁷ Finally, there is the crucial question of opposition in the House. Neale's emphasis on the role of the Puritan members is undoubtedly justified. They must be regarded as the prototype of the Country opposition which took shape in the next reign, the germ of the first political movement in modern English history, which was to be more than a faction because it was founded not as the following of a great man but on the basis of policy and principles. But when the Elizabethan opposition is considered in the perspective of the sixteenth century as a whole, the question necessarily arises as to the basis of the resistance to the crown so manifest at times before Elizabeth's accession. Neale has referred, for instance, to several remarkable episodes in Mary's Parliaments as very important in this respect.⁸ What, since it was presumably not Puritanism, had the leaders of this resistance in common with their fellows in Elizabeth's Parliaments? Was it mainly a concern for their purses that produced such a crossing of the government's will? Does the gentry members' independence of the court, as well as Puritanism, help to explain the opposition to Elizabeth, as earlier to Mary? The whole subject, it would seem, must be considered further before we can feel that we have all the clues.

For the reigns of James I and Charles I, nothing exists comparable to Neale's work, and a history of the Parliaments between 1604 and 1629, in which the themes are the evolution of the Commons as an institution and the formation of the opposition movement, has still to be written. In the meantime one must continue to refer for a general picture mainly to Professor Wallace Notestein's famous paper, "The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons" (*Proceedings of the British Academy* [London,

⁷ See *Tudor and Stuart History*, 9.

⁸ Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 1559-1581, 21-26.

1924-25], 125-75), eked out by several recent monographs on individual Parliaments and particular aspects of parliamentary development. David H. Willson's invaluable *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1940), is a definitive description of the role of the councilors and the decline of their influence over proceedings as leadership in the House passed from them to private members in the opposition. Harold Hulme, *Sir John Eliot, 1592 to 1632: Struggle for Parliamentary Freedom* (New York, 1957), gives much detail on parliamentary transactions in the 1620's. Thomas L. Moir, *The Addled Parliament of 1614* (Oxford, Eng., 1958), presents a good account of that abortive two-month meeting and sets it in the context of more long-range parliamentary development. He also provides informative appendixes on the membership of both houses. Williams M. Mitchell's *The Rise of the Revolutionary Party in the English House of Commons, 1603-1629* (New York, 1957), bears a most tantalizing title, but is unfortunately marked by serious inadequacies. It offers some interesting remarks on the continuity of opposition members from Parliament to Parliament and raises some fundamental questions that it does little to answer.

A few recent articles relating to the parliamentary aspect of this period may also be noticed. An excellent study of Wiltshire members and elections is Stanley T. Bindoff's "Parliamentary History 1529-1688" in *Victoria County History, Wiltshire*.⁹ Hulme has shown how the Commons extended its privilege of freedom of speech in the earlier seventeenth century.¹⁰ On the basis of newly found evidence, I. H. C. Fraser effects a revision of the traditional narrative of the tumultuous scene in the Commons on March 2, 1629. His story makes clear that the conduct of Eliot, Denzil Holles, and their friends on that memorable day was even more audacious than had been thought.¹¹ Elizabeth R. Foster describes the way in which the Commons brought the provocative subject of monopolies within the scope of its attack on grievances.¹² The restoration of representation to certain boroughs by action of the Commons is carefully considered by Evangeline de Villiers. As earlier under Elizabeth, so also this increase in borough representation after 1621

⁹ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Wiltshire*, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (7 vols., London, 1953-57), V, 111-70.

¹⁰ Harold Hulme, "The Winning of Freedom of Speech by the House of Commons," *American Historical Review*, LXI (July 1956), 825-53.

¹¹ I. H. C. Fraser, "The Agitation in the Commons, 2 March 1629, and the Interrogation of the Leaders of the Anti-Court Group," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXX (May 1957), 86-95.

¹² Elizabeth R. Foster, "The Procedure of the House of Commons against Patents and Monopolies, 1621-1624," in *Conflict in Stuart England: Essays in Honour of Wallace Notestein*, ed. William A. Aiken and Basil D. Henning (New York, 1960).

was a result of the desire of local patrons and gentry for seats.¹³ Lawrence Stone has analyzed well the influence exercised in parliamentary elections by the second Earl of Salisbury.¹⁴ With this may be compared an earlier account of the electoral influence of two other great peers, the third and the fourth Earls of Pembroke.¹⁵

Little progress has been made in recent years in the editing of original materials pertaining to transactions in early Stuart Parliaments. A large number of manuscript diaries of proceedings of the Commons kept by private members is known, and the publication of the more important of these is an urgent requirement of scholarship. They ought to be printed even if they cannot be provided with the copious apparatus and notes that distinguish the great edition of the Commons' debates of 1621 by Notestein and his collaborators.¹⁶ For the House of Lords—one of the really neglected topics in the writings on parliamentary history—Evangeline de Villiers has published some fragments of a journal of the 1621 Parliament kept by the fifth Earl of Huntingdon. This includes the only known firsthand account of an important speech delivered by King James to the upper house.¹⁷

The discussion of the literature for the period after 1640 belongs to the bibliography of the English Revolution and is beyond our present scope. Two works, however, dealing with members of the Long Parliament happily fall within our province. They are Mary F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640–1641: A Biographical Study of Its Members* (Philadelphia, 1954), and Douglas D. Brunton and Donald H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament* (London, 1954). Though these two books in part cover the same ground, they also usefully supplement each other and together form the indispensable basis for all future study of the personnel of this great Parliament. Mrs. Keeler's book is a detailed portrait of the original members of the Commons and contains much information on their political experience and allegiance, their economic and social position, and their family connections. It provides a biographical article on each member and includes a brief account of the elections in every county and borough. Brunton and Pennington extend their study to the men elected over the entire thirteen years of the

¹³ Evangeline de Villiers, "Parliamentary Boroughs Restored by the House of Commons, 1621–1641," *English Historical Review*, LXVII (Apr. 1952), 175–202; see Neale, *Elizabethan House of Commons*, Chap. vii.

¹⁴ Lawrence Stone, "The Electoral Influence of the Second Earl of Salisbury, 1614–68," *English Historical Review*, LXXI (July 1956), 384–400.

¹⁵ Violet A. Rowe, "The Influence of the Earls of Pembroke on Parliamentary Elections, 1625–1641," *ibid.*, L (Apr. 1935), 242–56.

¹⁶ *Commons Debates 1621*, ed. Wallace Notestein *et al.* (7 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1935).

¹⁷ *The Hastings Journal of the Parliament of 1621*, ed. Evangeline de Villiers, *Camden Miscellany*, XX (1953).

Long Parliament and concentrate more strongly on their social and occupational character. Appendixes that list the members both alphabetically and by constituency and analyze some of their main features in statistical form constitute an extremely useful part of their work. By means of these writings, we are able at last to see many members of the Long Parliament as individuals. The whole story has thus become fuller and far more interesting. At the same time, the main conclusion that emerges is the substantial social similarity, if not identity, of the members who opposed the King and those who supported him.

In other departments of political and constitutional history than the parliamentary, a number of publications should be mentioned. Additions have been made to various collections of state papers and other sources. The *Acts of the Privy Council* have been augmented by a further installment covering July 1628–April 1629.¹⁸ An interval of eighteen years separates this volume from its predecessor in the series.¹⁹ Surely the Public Record Office and other authorities who have shown such deplorable slowness in printing the chief records in their care might find some means of accelerating their present glacial rate of publication. A new volume, the first and only one since 1936, was published in 1950 in the calendar of foreign state papers for Elizabeth's reign with an informative introduction by the editor, Professor Reginald B. Wernham.²⁰ There have also been a few—a very few—additions to the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission relating to this period. These, and most of the other serial publications of texts pertaining to English historical subjects, can now best be found by consulting E. L. C. Mullins' invaluable analytical guide to such works, which the Royal Historical Society has recently issued.²¹

As regards constitutional documents, a new selection covering the Tudor age has been edited with commentary by Geoffrey R. Elton.²² This work will probably take the place held in the past by Joseph R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents, 1485–1603* (2d ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1930), as the principal collection for purposes of teaching and reference. Although it omits certain documents for which Tanner will still be consulted, it also contains important new ones and is better arranged. The vigorous and incisive commentary, often controversial, brings the discussion of outstanding questions

¹⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1628 July–1629 April* (London, 1958).

¹⁹ *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1627 Sept.–1628 June* (London, 1940).

²⁰ *Calendar of State Papers Foreign . . .*, XXIII, Jan.–July, 1589, ed. Reginald B. Wernham (London, 1950). The preface to this volume contains an announcement that the foreign calendar is to be discontinued and replaced by a series of "descriptive lists."

²¹ *Texts and Calendars: An Analytical Guide to Serial Publications* (London, 1958).

²² *The Tudor Constitution*, ed. Geoffrey R. Elton (Cambridge, Eng., 1960).

up to date. Among other texts recently published are William Lambarde's *Archeion: Or, A Discourse upon the High Courts of Justice in England*, edited by Charles H. McIlwain and Paul L. Ward (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), and the historian William Camden's brief "Discourse concerning the Prerogative of the Crown," edited by Frank S. Fussner.²³

No modern scholar has tried to write the history of Elizabeth's reign or that of her two successors in anything like the fullness of detail of James Anthony Froude or Samuel Gardiner. While such an undertaking would doubtless be a work of supererogation, there is a pressing need for histories of these periods, composed on a smaller and more selective scale, that will reflect the present state of learning and present-day interests, correct old errors, and give attention to important problems neglected in the earlier literature. Perhaps the time will not come for a synthesis of this kind, however, until the analytical preoccupation that presently dominates most historical work provides the material for it in a fuller harvest of monographs and special studies. There has been a strong tendency recently to blame historians for excessive specialization and narrowness of interest. If some measure of justice must be conceded to this charge, it must also be pointed out, first, that in the best research the sense of the whole, and of the relation of the part to the whole, is always present, and, second, that this concentration on the analysis of particular topics is really an expression of the conscience of the historian revolting against superficial answers and trite opinions and determined by painstaking labor to get at the truth of things.

An intimation of the sort of synthesis in political history we may hope for in the future is provided in Neale's lecture, "The Elizabethan Political Scene" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIV [London, 1948], 97-117). This, despite its brevity, is one of the most penetrating treatments of political institutions and the nature of power at this time that has been written. Its discussion of the court, patronage, and the factional character of politics suggests fruitful lines of research and points the way to a profounder conception of state and society in the sixteenth century. An interesting paper exemplifying a similar approach is Arthur H. Dodd, "North Wales in the Essex Revolt of 1601" (*English Historical Review*, LIX [Sept. 1944], 348-70).

Several recent monographs on administration are also of importance. Henry E. Bell's *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953) is a model account of the great institution whose exactions so deeply affected the governing class. It should be stud-

²³ William Camden, "Discourse concerning the Prerogative of the Crown," ed. Frank S. Fussner, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CI (Apr. 1957), 204-15.

ied in conjunction with Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (London, 1958), a good analysis of wardship and of the role of the Court of Wards under Elizabeth. For the reign of Charles I, Gerald E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-42* (London, 1961), is indispensable. It describes in almost superabundant detail the nature of service under the crown, the social origins and character of the official body, and the political significance of office holding. Its implications for the better understanding of politics before and during the Civil War are far reaching. One of the important prerogative instruments of the crown is treated in Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958). Allegra Woodworth, *Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Philadelphia, 1945), offers a scholarly picture of the administrative and financial aspects of the provisioning of the court and describes the attempt to devise solutions for the grievances to which purveyance gave rise. Geoffrey R. Elton's article on the Elizabethan Exchequer also has useful bearings on politics and institutions.²⁴

Of general works concerned principally with political and constitutional matters, one of the best-known, John B. Black's *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603* (Vol. VIII of *The Oxford History of England* [Oxford, Eng., 1936]), has appeared with some important alterations in a second edition (Oxford, Eng., 1959). Stanley T. Bindoff's brief *Tudor England* (Harmondsworth, 1950) contains several sparkling chapters on the Elizabethan period. The companion volume on the Stuart period by Maurice P. Ashley is somewhat dull and prosaic.²⁵ The same must be said for Godfrey Davies' *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (Vol. IX of *The Oxford History of England* [Oxford, Eng., 1937; 2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1959]). C. Veronica Wedgwood, *The King's Peace, 1637-1641* (London, 1955), is a well-written account of the last years of Charles I's reign before the Civil War. Alfred L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society* (London, 1951), discusses politics and much else. Full of learning and informed by a deep poetic responsiveness to the vanished glories of the sixteenth century, it is the best picture of the Elizabethan age. Conyers Read's life of Lord Burghley, the last work of a great scholar recently passed from our midst, centers almost wholly on political history and foreign affairs

²⁴ Geoffrey R. Elton, "The Elizabethan Exchequer: War in the Receipt," in *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (London, 1961). Except for Elton's essay, I have seen none of the papers in this volume, which was not available to me when the present article was written in May 1961. The various contributions undoubtedly contain much of importance for the study of the period.

²⁵ Maurice P. Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1952).

and has copious citations from documents.²⁶ For foreign affairs, Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Armada* (London, 1959), gives a brilliant account of international relations during the Anglo-Spanish war and shrewdly describes the European context and ramifications of the great struggle. Another useful but much less detailed treatment is that of Gaston Zeller, *Histoire des relations internationales*, Volume II, *Les temps modernes: De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell* (Paris, 1953). No modern works exist that concentrate exclusively on foreign affairs and present a full and connected narrative of English relations, or the conditions governing them, with other European states.²⁷ The history, for instance, of Anglo-Netherlands relations under Elizabeth and James I has not yet been written, despite the abundant documents that are available and the importance of the subject. One hopes that future scholarship will turn its attention to this undeservedly neglected topic.

Military history is another subject deserving of more attention. The Armada naturally still remains the focus of interest, and Mattingly has a fresh description of the battle in *The Defeat of the Armada*. C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford, Eng., 1946), is a valuable study of military organization. Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), provides an excellent account of the campaigns connected with the Irish rebellion. An illuminating presentation of the difficulties that governed strategy and a defense of the Queen's policy in the operations of the Anglo-Spanish war is given in Reginald B. Wernham, "Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition of 1589" (*English Historical Review*, LXVI [Jan.-Apr. 1951], 1-26, 194-218).

From things earthly, we pass to things heavenly and of the spirit, although this may seem to be an infelicitous description of the religious history of a period that has been as bitterly fought over by scholars as have the preceding reigns of Henry VIII, Edward, and Mary. Perhaps there are signs, however, that old animosities are giving way to mutual comprehension and greater detachment. There is surely no reason why historians should wish to wage again the struggle of enraged generations three and a half centuries ago. Let us be thankful that the past, whose protagonists have long lain mingled with dust, is over and done. The essence of tragedy is the conflict, not of right against wrong, but of right against right. No one can

²⁶ Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1955), *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1960).

²⁷ Such writings as there are in this field are listed in Read, *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period*, 65-85.

gaze on the confessional strife of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and not recognize it as a tragic conflict in which compelling moral claims were to be found on all sides. No one can contemplate the pretensions of the churches of that unhappy age to religious infallibility without an ironical awareness of the delusions that gain an empire over men. The historian may, indeed he must, stigmatize persecution and cruelty, guilt and injustice. Yet before the terrible hatreds of denominations and creeds, nothing will suffice him for understanding but charity and irony, the twin talismen he must take with him as he passes through the scenes of anger and carnage that mark the course of religion in Tudor and Stuart times.

The only recent work offering a detailed ecclesiastical history of Elizabeth's reign is the third volume of Philip Hughes's excellent *The Reformation in England: "True Religion Now Established"* (3 vols., London, 1951-54). This is a judicious and objective narrative, written from a Catholic standpoint and based on wide study of the printed materials. His *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London, 1942) is also valuable and makes use of fresh manuscript evidence from the Vatican Library and the Roman Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. The great obscurity surrounding the statutory settlement of religion in 1559 has been largely cleared away in Neale's article, "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity" (*English Historical Review*, LXV [July 1950], 304-32). On the institutional side of the Established Church, the outstanding contribution is Christopher Hill's learned *Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (Oxford, Eng., 1956). Following to some extent the fruitful path of investigation opened by Roland G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (2 vols., New York, 1910), Hill describes with admirable clarity the economic difficulties of the clergy, the forms of clerical income and the lay depredations made upon them, and shows how Laud's effort to restore the status of the clergy helped to provoke revolution. A few other writings also treat the institutional functioning of the church. F. D. Price has pictured the decline of ecclesiastical discipline in the diocese of Gloucester and also has discussed at length the work of the ecclesiastical commission both there and in Bristol diocese.²⁸ The Laudian church in Buckinghamshire is described with the aid of visitation records by E. R. C. Brinkworth.²⁹

²⁸ F. D. Price, "The Abuses of Excommunication and the Decline of Ecclesiastical Discipline under Queen Elizabeth," *English Historical Review*, LVII (Jan. 1942), 106-15, and "The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes for the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester, 1574," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, LIX, 1937.

²⁹ E. R. C. Brinkworth, "The Laudian Church in Buckinghamshire," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, V (No. 1, 1955), 31-59.

Various documents pertaining to the working of church institutions have been published: episcopal registers, dean and chapter records, and archidiaconal and consistory court proceedings.³⁰ Henry I. Longden has compiled biographies of hundreds of clergy in Northamptonshire and Rutland.³¹

Much attention has been directed to Puritanism in this period and to the argument over church government between the defenders and the enemies of episcopacy. The best general survey of sixteenth-century Puritanism is Marshall M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago, 1939). William Haller's valuable *The Rise of Puritanism, or the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York, 1938), deals mainly with the earlier seventeenth century and concentrates on the teachings of the clerical brotherhood of Puritan preachers. Neither of these works has much to say about Puritanism as an organized movement or about its lay patrons and adherents. This continues to be the most neglected aspect of the subject and is a very serious lack that ought to be filled. A lively account of the Puritans and their critics in Cambridge University is presented in H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958). Among the useful material in this book is a long summary of the theology of William Perkins, which shows plainly how very much Calvinism was a doctrine of assurance rather than despair.³² On Puritan theology and ideas generally, Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), is fundamental. Other writings concerned with Puritan thought are Leonard J. Trinterud, "The Origins of Puritanism" (*Church History*, XX [Mar. 1951], 37-51), which stresses the non-Calvinist sources of the covenant theology, and Alan Simpson, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Chicago, 1955), a work that appears to exaggerate the importance of the apocalyptic and enthusiast element in

³⁰ Some examples are: *The Registers of . . . James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, 1561-76*, ed. Gladys Hinde, Surtees Society, CLXI, 1952; *Peterborough Local Administration . . . the Dean and Chapter as Lord of the City*, ed. William T. Mellows and Daphne H. Gifford, Northamptonshire Record Society, XVIII, 1956; *The Archdeacon's Court: Liber Actorum, 1584*, ed. E. R. C. Brinkworth, Oxfordshire Record Society, XX, XXI, 1942-46; *Select 16th Century Causes in Tithe from York Diocesan Registry*, ed. John S. Purvis, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, CXIV, 1949; *id.*, *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948); *Winchester Consistory Court Depositions 1561-1602*, ed. Arthur J. Willis (Lyminge, 1960).

³¹ Henry I. Longden, *Northampton and Rutland Clergy, A.D. 1500-1900*, Northamptonshire Record Society, 16 vols., 1939-52.

³² Perkins is also discussed in Louis B. Wright, "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of Practical Divinity," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III (Jan. 1940), 171-96; Rosemary A. Sisson, "William Perkins, Apologist for the Elizabethan Church of England," *Modern Language Review*, XLVII (Oct. 1952), 495-502; and Christopher Hill, "William Perkins and the Poor," *Puritanism and Revolution* (London, 1958). Hill's volume also contains an essay on another great Puritan clergyman, "The Political Sermons of John Preston."

Puritan belief. A treatment of the debate on episcopacy containing a fine analysis of the attitude of the authorities of the Established Church is Norman Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyterian* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956). Ebenezer T. Davies, *Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVI Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1950), summarizes the teachings of the Anglican formularies on episcopacy and discusses the status of the episcopal order. The sermons delivered at Paul's Cross, some of the most famous of which, such as Richard Bancroft's in 1589, were attacks on the Puritans, are dealt with in Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto, 1958). William P. Holden has surveyed some of the contemporary literature critical of the Puritans in *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642* (New Haven, Conn., 1954). The points of similarity between the Puritan and the common lawyers' opposition to the Stuarts are discussed in familiar terms by John D. Eusden, *Puritans, Lawyers, and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 1958).

The last years have seen the publication of many important texts relating to Puritanism. Donald J. McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1949), offers a most useful abridgment of the chief tracts in the debate between John Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright. One of the principal collections of documents, *Puritan Manifestoes*, edited by Walter H. Frere and C. E. Douglas (London, 1907), has been reprinted with a preface by Sykes (London, 1954). The late Dr. Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson have edited two volumes of texts in the series "Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts": *Cartwrightiana* (London, 1951) and *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne* (London, 1953). Among works promised in this series for the future is the indispensable *A Parte of a Register*. Some manuscript pamphlets written by Bancroft against the Puritans have appeared: *Tracts Ascribed to Richard Bancroft*, edited by Peel (Cambridge, Eng., 1953). One of the last of Peel's many services to Puritan studies was *The Notebook of John Penry, 1593* (London, 1944), the introduction to which considers the question of the authorship of the Marprelate tracts without reaching a definite conclusion. In 1943 they were ascribed to Penry by Donald J. McGinn, "The Real Martin Marprelate" (*PMLA*, LVIII [Mar. 1943], 84-107), and, more recently, to Job Throckmorton by Neale.³³ The main documents in the government's successful move in 1633 against the feoffees for impropriations—the Puritan effort to infiltrate the Established Church by buying up rights of patronage—are

³³ Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584-1601*, 220. Neale does not give much evidence for this identification, and it must still remain an open question.

printed in *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England 1625-33*, edited by Isabel Calder (London, 1957). They should be read in connection with Professor Calder's article, "A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church" (*American Historical Review*, LIII [July 1948], 760-75), and with E. W. Kirby's "The Lay Feoffees: A Study in Militant Puritanism" (*Journal of Modern History*, XIV [Mar. 1942], 1-25).

Roman Catholicism, too, has been the subject of important publication in the last years. On Catholic writings in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, there are now two indispensable guides: A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582* (London and Glasgow, 1950), which contains a richly annotated bibliography, and Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, "A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English, Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640" (*Biographical Studies*, III [Jan.-Apr. 1956], 1-187). A new journal, *Biographical Studies*, was founded in 1951 for the study of English Catholic history and has continued since 1957 under the title *Recusant History*. Many articles on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Catholics have appeared both in this periodical and in *The Month*. Father Leo Hicks, the author of several of these, has edited documents relating to one of the most extraordinary personalities of the time, the Jesuit, Robert Persons.³⁴ The Latin autobiographies of two Elizabethan priests, John Gerard and William Weston, have been translated afresh by Philip Caraman.³⁵

No aspect of Elizabethan and early Stuart history has been more diligently cultivated recently than the social and economic. Here some of the liveliest discussion has ensued, and some of the most solid results have been achieved. Most provocative of debate has been the question of the rise of the gentry, which is, of course, related to the whole problem of the evolution of the social and economic order between 1540 and 1640 and, beyond that, to the nature of the English revolution. Professor Richard H. Tawney's famous article, "The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640," appeared in 1941 (*Economic History Review*, XI [No. 1, 1941], 1-38) and was followed in 1948 by Lawrence Stone's account of the financial straits of the Elizabethan aristocracy ("The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy," *Economic History Review*, XVIII [Nos. 1-2, 1948], 1-53). Professor Hugh R. Trevor-Roper's attacks on their views are contained in "The Elizabethan Aristocracy: An Anatomy Anatomized" (*Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., III [No. 3, 1951], 279-98).

³⁴ *Letters and Memorials of Robert Persons, S.J.*, ed. Leo Hicks, Catholic Record Society, XXXIX (London, 1942).

³⁵ *John Gerard*, tr. Philip Caraman (London, 1951), and *William Weston*, tr. *id.* (London, 1955).

and *The Gentry, 1540-1640* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953). The whole controversial literature of criticism, reply, counterreply, and commentary is surveyed and appraised with full references in two articles by Perez Zagorin.³⁶ Other papers that review the debate in trenchant terms are Jack H. Hexter's "Storm over the Gentry" (*Encounter*, X [May 1958], 22-34), Willson H. Coates, "An Analysis of Major Conflicts in Seventeenth-Century England" (*Conflict in Stuart England*, ed. Aiken and Henning), and Christopher Hill, "Recent Interpretations of the Civil War" (*Puritanism and Revolution*).

While it is too soon for any definitive conclusions on the major questions at issue, even in the present state of the discussion three points may confidently be ventured. First, no economic historian has concurred with Trevor-Roper's opinion that the gentry as an order was in difficulties in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Indeed, recent studies of landownership such as Mary E. Finch's important monograph, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640* (Oxford, Eng., 1956), suggest precisely the contrary. Second, Trevor-Roper has certainly exposed some errors of Tawney and Stone. Third, his emphasis on the significance of court office has opened an important area of inquiry, and the political origin of the English revolution is likely to be found, as he has proposed, in the conflict between the court and the Country opposition formed largely of nonofficial peers and gentry, though his conception of the latter as an economically declining body of "outsiders" is surely mistaken.

Other writings of a less controversial character pertaining to social classes also have been published. Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts* (New Haven, Conn., 1942), is an outstanding description of the economic position, status, and culture of one of the main strata in English society. On the nobility, there have been several important papers by Lawrence Stone, particularly "The Inflation of Honours 1558-1641."³⁷ *The Social Structure in Caroline England* (Oxford, Eng., 1948) and *The Age of Charles I* (London, 1951), by David Mathew, survey the early seventeenth-century social order interestingly and often with deep insight, but are spotty and incomplete. Wallace Notestein, *The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630* (New York, 1954), contains interesting ma-

³⁶ Perez Zagorin, "The English Revolution," *Journal of World History*, II (Pts. 3-4, 1955), 668-81, and "The Social Interpretation of the English Revolution," *Journal of Economic History*, XIX (Sept. 1959), 376-401.

³⁷ Lawrence Stone, "The Inflation of Honours 1558-1641," *Past and Present*, XIV (Nov. 1958), 43-65; see also *id.*, "The Nobility in Business," *The Entrepreneur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 14-21, and "Marriage among the English Nobility in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, III (Jan. 1961), 182-206. On the inflation of honors, see also Charles R. Mayes, "The Sale of Peerages in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Modern History*, XXIX (Mar. 1957), 21-37.

terial and a good bibliography of social history. Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642* (Oxford, Eng., 1959), traces the changing functions of the university in English society and depicts the new relation between them which came into being. On the same topic, Jack H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance" (*Journal of Modern History*, XXII [Mar. 1950], 1-20), should also be read, as well as Fritz Caspari, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* (Chicago, 1954). On the milieu, taste, and interests of citizens and the "middle sort of people," Louis B. Wright's extraordinarily full *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935) has recently been reprinted (Ithaca, N. Y., 1958). Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, N. J., 1953), is a definitive account of the musical profession in all its aspects: in London, the provinces, the church, and the court. In *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), Edwin H. Miller deals with the literary profession. The nature and motives of the patronage extended to literature by a great nobleman are analyzed in Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955). Among texts valuable for the study of social life and much else besides, the chief recent publication is the complete and well-annotated collection—479 in all—of *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, the busy gossip who knew so much of what was happening or rumored in the city, the court, and among the governing class.³⁸ English domestic relations are depicted in two works that have good illustrations and useful bibliographies: Carroll Camden, *The Elizabethan Woman: A Panorama of English Womanhood, 1540 to 1640* (London, 1952), and Lu E. Pearson, *Elizabethans at Home* (Stanford, Calif., 1957).

Of works relating to the social order, special mention must be made of Wilbur K. Jordan's *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (New York, 1959) and its tributary volumes, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (New York, 1960) and *The Forming of the Charitable Institutions of the West of England: A Study of the Changing Pattern of Social Aspirations in Bristol and Somerset, 1480-1660* (Philadelphia, 1960).³⁹ The scope of this monumental study is much wider than its title implies, and both its innovations in method and its conclusions establish

³⁸ *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939). A new and hitherto unknown letter of Chamberlain dating from 1587 has been published by John W. Stoye in *English Historical Review*, LXII (Oct. 1947), 522-32.

³⁹ A concluding volume in this study on the charitable institutions of Buckinghamshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire is promised.

it as the chief contribution in this century to English social history. The method is to use as evidence the wills of charitable donors on so massive a scale as to render feasible a detailed investigation of the transition from one state of society to another. The gifts and benefactions of nearly 35,000 men and women of all classes and ranks have been studied for the years 1480-1660 in ten counties that comprised perhaps one-third the population and over half the wealth of the nation. A careful analysis of this huge number of gifts by decade intervals, by social rank, and according to their many different objects—church, poor relief, social rehabilitation, education, and other—has enabled Jordan to demonstrate the changing pattern of aspirations of the various sorts and conditions of men during this long period. He has thus been able to show how, and in what proportions, the provision of wealth for secular purposes supplanted gifts to the church, and how men set themselves to create with their benefactions new institutions of social assistance and betterment, removed from the supervision of the traditional ecclesiastical authorities. The examination of the pace of this process in different regions and classes, illustrated by numerous statistical tables, is one of the most fascinating aspects of the work. Jordan is aware of the limitations and problematic features of his method, the most serious of these being the inability to make allowance in the data for the steady rise in prices over the epoch treated. Despite this, the main lines of the work stand firm, and its depiction of the earlier stages in the transition to a liberal society, as well as the quantities of information it contains on many other subjects, will have to be pondered by all students of the period.

An aspect of social history that is increasingly pursued with the most promising results is the study of particular towns, counties, and regions. At one time the preserve mainly of antiquarians and of warmhearted amateurs engaged in celebrating their own *lares* and penates, local history is today more and more a subject of research by professional scholars. By means of their investigations, grandiose generalizations can be tested and brought down to earth, the perspective that sees all events from London and the center of government can be corrected and enlarged, and the experience of local communities, whose life before the appearance of the present metropolitan age was so vivid and embracing, can be integrated into the general history of the nation. What may be done in local history is to be seen in Alfred L. Rowse's rich and detailed book, *Tudor Cornwall* (London, 1941), an outstanding example of the synthesis between local and national history, which is to be looked for from such work. Many distinguished contributions have also been made by William G. Hoskins, a master in this field of study.

Some of the best are in *Essays in Leicestershire History* (Liverpool, 1950) and in *Devonshire Studies* (the latter written in collaboration with H. P. R. Finberg [London, 1952]). His "An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester," in *Studies in Social History*, edited by John H. Plumb (London, 1955), should also be read. William B. Willcox, *Gloucestershire: A Study in Local Government, 1590-1640* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), gives a valuable picture of this county. Several chapters in Arthur H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), deal illuminatingly with this period. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), is an able account of an important town, which shows the cohesive and protectionist spirit that prevailed in the community and its dominant merchant group. J. W. F. Hill, *Tudor and Stuart Lincoln* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), has interesting material, but leaves important topics untouched. Large quantities of documents relating to local history are being published by British record and antiquarian societies. Most of these are listed in E. L. C. Mullins' guide, already mentioned. Charles Gross's indispensable *A Bibliography of British Municipal History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915) should be reissued in a new and up-to-date edition.

We come finally to economic history, whose connections with both social and local history are so multifarious and on which so much of importance has been done in the last years. Most of the principal contributions have appeared in articles in the *Economic History Review* and should be sought there. Owing no doubt to the controversial character of some of the problems and to the conviction that more monographic material is necessary, no new detailed economic history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has appeared. However, the second and third volumes of Ephraim Lipson's great *Economic History of England* (London, 1931), which treat this period, were reprinted in a fifth edition with fresh information (5th ed., London, 1948-56).⁴⁰ A brief but useful survey is George N. Clark's *The Wealth of England from 1496 to 1760* (Oxford, Eng., 1946). Among more specialized works the chief one is Richard H. Tawney, *Business and Politics under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958), which describes with inimitable style and scholarship Cranfield's career in business and government and gives a masterly account of commerce at this time. Another valuable study, outstanding for its scope and its analytical trenchancy, is Barry E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy* (Cam-

⁴⁰ This fifth edition seems little changed from the third enlarged edition of 1943 which contains much additional material in both text and notes.

bridge, Eng., 1959). John U. Nef's *Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640* (Philadelphia, 1940), is a suggestive attempt to relate political and constitutional factors to economic growth. Its assertion that English economic development in this century was so great in some fields as to have constituted a "first industrial revolution" is perhaps questionable. Robert K. Ashton, *The Crown and the Money Market, 1603-1640* (Oxford, Eng., 1960), presents a penetrating account of royal borrowing and its political implications under the early Stuarts. Foreign trade is discussed in Thomas S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553-1603* (Manchester, Eng., 1956), and *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester, Eng., 1959), and in George D. Ramsay, *English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence* (London, 1957), and Raymond W. K. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959). An important work relating to industrial regulation is Margaret G. Davies, *The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship: A Study in Applied Mercantilism, 1563-1642* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956). The wool trade is treated in George D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, Eng., 1943), and Thomas C. Mendenhall, *The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the xvth and xvith Centuries* (Oxford, Eng., 1953). On agrarian life, Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957) and *Fenland Farming in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester, 1953), should be noted. The same writer has given a serviceable summary of the enclosure problem in *Tudor Enclosures* (London, 1959).

Turning briefly to cultural history and the history of ideas (from which literary history proper is excluded as beyond our purview), we may notice a few important works. Two learned and detailed treatments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries respectively, containing much material on thought, both written with distinction and compendiously supplied with bibliographies, are: Clive S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Vol. III of *The Oxford History of English Literature* [Oxford, Eng., 1954]), and Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Vol. V of *The Oxford History of English Literature* [Oxford, Eng., 1945]). Eustace M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1943), is a stimulating presentation of the presuppositions of sixteenth-century thought and its basis in the idea of cosmic order. It should be read together with James Winny, *The Frame of Order:*

An Outline of Elizabethan Belief (London, 1957), a brief anthology of texts. Paul H. Kocher also deals with significant aspects of intellectual history in *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (San Marino, Calif., 1953). A rather pedestrian treatment of Bacon as a thinker is F. H. Anderson, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Chicago, 1948).⁴¹ On political ideas in the sixteenth century, the outstanding recent work is Christopher Morris, *Political Thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker* (London, 1953), a brilliant essay. There are several books devoted to Richard Hooker, among them Peter Munz, *The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought* (London, 1952), and F. J. Shirley, *Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas* (London, 1949). Interesting and valuable studies on special aspects of political thought are John G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), and J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford, Eng., 1959). Margaret Judson's scholarly *The Crisis of the Constitution* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1949) is a full and careful analysis of constitutional and political ideas from 1603 to 1645. George L. Mosse, *The Struggle for Sovereignty in England from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Petition of Right* (East Lansing, Mich., 1950), deals usefully with the same subject. A good short essay on James I's political philosophy is W. H. Greenleaf, "James I and the Divine Right of Kings" (*Political Studies*, V [Feb. 1957], 36-48).

Many biographies of both greater and lesser luminaries in the Elizabethan and early Stuart worlds have appeared during the years under review, though some notable personalities still remain inadequately treated or completely unchronicled. The outstanding recent work of biography is Read's history of Lord Burghley, already referred to, which definitively fills the long-standing need for a life of the great Tudor statesman. An account of the earlier years of his son, Sir Robert Cecil, has been written by Phyllis M. Handover, *The Second Cecil* (London, 1959), but more and deeper work needs to be done on this important individual. Catherine D. Bowen, *The Lion and the Throne: The Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634)* (Boston, 1957), has no new material, but does partial justice to Coke's extraordinary and many-sided career. Two lives of Raleigh have appeared: Ernest A. Strathmann, *Sir Walter Raleigh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* (New York, 1951), and Willard M. Wallace,

⁴¹ On Bacon, see also Benjamin Farrington, *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science* (New York, 1949), and James G. Crowther, *Francis Bacon, The First Statesman of Science* (London, 1960).

Sir Walter Raleigh (Princeton, N. J., 1959). Yet this protean man of genius still defies definition, and some mysteries still lurk about his career. David B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London, 1947), is a good study of Raleigh's activities as an explorer and colonizer. Cyril Falls has written the biography of the Earl of Essex' successor in the Irish command—*Mountjoy: Elizabethan General* (London, 1955). A major biographical contribution is David H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956). There have been lives of Archbishop Whitgift by Powel M. Dawley (*John Whitgift and the English Reformation* [New York, 1954]) and Victor J. K. Brook (*Whitgift and the English Church* [London, 1957]). Paul A. Welsby wrote a biographical account of another great ecclesiastic: *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626* (London, 1958). The most recent life of William Laud is now Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud* (London, 1940). Irvonwy Morgan, *Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplain* (London, 1958), describes the political career of the influential Puritan clergyman, John Preston, and has a suggestive though not always accurate analysis of Puritan-court relations. A most interesting life of a financial magnate, which displays the seamier side of Elizabethan politics, is Lawrence Stone's *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, Eng., 1956). James A. Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth: A New History of Sir John Hawkins and of the Other Members of His Family Prominent in Tudor England* (London, 1949), presents new facts about this great sailor and his relations.

There are many gaps in our portrait gallery of these wonderful years. The careers of Elizabeth's favorites, Leicester and Essex, have never yet been fully related and their political roles traced through all their ramifications. There is no satisfactory life of Sir Christopher Hatton, nor any at all of Archbishop Bancroft, Nicholas Bacon, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, his son, Anthony Bacon, who was Essex' intimate, nor of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Neither have the two famous Catholic activists, William Cardinal Allen and the Jesuit, Robert Persons, found a biographer. The life of Sir Edwin Sandys, the colonizer and parliamentary opposition leader, remains to be written, as does that of another notable oppositionist, Sir Robert Phelps. Hugh F. Kearney's *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Manchester, Eng., 1957) is probably a definitive treatment of the Irish phase of the great Lord Lieutenant's career, yet his life as a whole must now be reconsidered on the basis of the vast collection of Wentworth Woodhouse manuscripts at Sheffield, first made available to historians in 1948.⁴²

⁴² The financial side of Strafford's career and his resourceful use of the opportunities of crown office are well described by J. P. Cooper, "The Fortune of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XI (Dec. 1958), 227-48.

The last topic to be noticed is exploration and empire—one of the greatest themes in Elizabethan historiography. Alfred L. Rowse has risen finely to the occasion in *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (London, 1955) and *The Elizabethans and America* (London, 1959). Scientific history has not banished the moist eye and the patriotic swelling from these evocative narratives in which the mighty transatlantic destiny of the English people is pre-figured. A survey of voyages and exploration by the leading authority on the subject has appeared in a revised edition: James A. Williamson, *The Age of Drake* (2d ed., London, 1946). Rayner Unwin has given an engrossing account of a famous episode in Hawkins' career in *The Defeat of John Hawkins: A Biography of His First Slaving Voyage* (London, 1960). Louis B. Wright's *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558–1625* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1943), discusses the support given by piety to expansion. A number of important texts have been edited by David B. Quinn for the Hakluyt Society: *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (2 vols., London, 1955), and *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (2 vols., London, 1940).

Taking a retrospective glance at the many writings listed in this survey, one sees that much has been done and that much more remains to be done. As the great French historian, Georges Lefebvre, used to say, "Il faut travailler." For those who live under Clio's bracing influence, there is ever the prospect of "Tomorrow to fresh Woods, and Pastures new."

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Archivist and the Historian

W. KAYE LAMB*

SOME years ago a bright young man joined the Public Archives of Canada as an archivist, grade one. I felt from the beginning that he wanted merely to use the Archives as a launching pad, and so it proved. His real ambition was to be a historian (which, by the way, he has not become), and he made it clear upon occasion that he considered the work of an archivist, by comparison, to be very lowly indeed. One day he likened an archivist to a vacuum cleaner—a remark he intended to be complimentary, within limits, because he wanted to commend the industry and thoroughness with which we hunted out material and brought it all together. But there, in his view, our abilities ended. Really important things began to happen only when some historian opened the bag of the vacuum cleaner, sorted out its contents, and made intelligent use of the good things he found there.

This is an extreme viewpoint, but I know from experience that it is one shared, to some degree, by a good many historians. To them the archivist is essentially a hack: a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. He collects things, cleans them, catalogues them, puts them on shelves, and eventually takes some of them off shelves and puts them on a table when a historian wants them. All this is true enough, but it neglects entirely those aspects of the archivist's job that call for intelligence, knowledge, and judgment to such a degree that the assignment can be a little frightening.

The archivist, for example, is called upon frequently to practice the difficult art of prophecy. He must attempt to anticipate needs. Out of a vast mass of material, a high percentage of which must be destroyed, he must try to identify and retain those items that are most likely to be of interest and significance in the years to come. Unlike the historian, the archivist

* Mr. Lamb, Dominion Archivist of Canada, gave this paper at the joint luncheon of the Society of American Archivists and the AHA in Washington, D. C., December 1961.

cannot place any convenient subjective limitation on his field of interest. Somehow or other he must find means to pass judgment on the probable value of source material that may relate to virtually any aspect or period of the history of the state or country with which his institution happens to be concerned. Recently, for example, I found myself judging the value (both historical and commercial) of contemporary copies of some highly important seventeenth-century correspondence relating to New France, trying to determine which records relating to Canadian service personnel who served in the First World War should be retained in original form, and worrying about the fate of the papers of a former cabinet minister whose death was expected day by day. In two of these three instances time was a matter of importance, and this point is worth noting. Sources can wait for the historian for years, but if they are to be there to await his pleasure, some archivist may have to make up his mind in a hurry and act quickly in order to secure and preserve them.

The long-term view is, perhaps, the basic characteristic of the work and outlook of the archivist, and from it springs a sense of permanence in his accomplishment, which can make that work peculiarly satisfying. Barring accidents, an archival collection is something that will endure; it is as likely to interest succeeding generations as anything we now have. Every document added to it and every archival job well done may thus contribute to something that will be important far into the future.

This element of permanency is something in which only the very exceptional historian can hope to share. Sixty years ago, when Lord Acton was planning the *Cambridge Modern History*, he seems to have had some real expectation that history could be written once and for all. Today it is obvious that this is not so. In his introduction to the revised Cambridge series, Sir George Clark points out that historians now "do not look forward to any such prospect. They expect their work to be superseded again and again." Jakob Burckhardt defined history as being "the record of what one age finds worthy of note in another." Opinions about what is worthy of note will vary with the years; the selection of facts and the interpretation placed upon them will vary with them; and the number and character of the facts available for selection and interpretation will have a direct relation to the industry and foresight of those who, in past days, including our day, assembled archival collections. If through neglect, accident, or lack of foresight, sources are inadequate, history in its turn must be inadequate, too.

And, I can hear the historian add, the mere existence of sources is not in itself sufficient; sources must be freely available. No archivist must be able

to stand in the way, limiting or preventing their use. This point is a perennial cause of friction between the archivist and the historian, in part, I feel, because some of the factors involved are not fully appreciated.

Any conscientious archivist or librarian who is responsible for the administration of a large manuscript collection soon discovers that his position is essentially that of a trustee. He must take into account many considerations that may rarely occur to scholars. I have found by experience, for example, that papers are frequently given to the Archives by people who have little or no knowledge of their contents; the donor places complete trust in the discretion of the archivist. Every now and then we find in such collections items that, in fairness to living people, should not be made available immediately for public use. And there is a kindred problem. I have mentioned that the archivist must take the long-term view. His first and fundamental duty is to see that papers of historical significance are preserved, and, if possible, placed in the custody of an institution in which continuity of care is assured. Preservation is thus his primary objective; access may have to be a secondary consideration. Many private papers of the first importance can only be secured on condition that access is restricted, or even refused altogether, for a term of years, but the archivist would clearly be derelict in his duty if he did not accept the terms and secure them. If the restrictions imposed are needlessly severe, they can frequently be modified by later negotiations. In the meantime, however, the archivist must hold to them rigidly, no matter how irritating they may be to all concerned. This is a matter of crucial importance in archives administration. For no news travels faster than the tidings that someone has gained access to papers that are classified as "closed," and nothing can more quickly destroy the confidence of donors or prospective donors than an incident of this kind.

The difficulty is that the historian is apt to simplify the problem and to think of it too exclusively from his own viewpoint. To him the alternatives of access or no access seem clear cut. In practice this is by no means always true. The real alternatives are more apt to be restriction on use on the one hand, and destruction on the other.

This point can be illustrated, I think, by reference to the papers of men and women in public life. Every now and then someone proposes that it should be made compulsory for cabinet ministers and the like to hand over their papers to the Public Archives, and to do this promptly on retiring from office. To my mind this policy is quite impracticable and, if put into force, would fail to produce the desired result. Unless they were assured of some measure of protection, most of the people concerned would simply

destroy their papers, and no one could stop them from doing so. In addition, I think the policy might well prevent much interesting material from coming into existence, for the tendency would be to put as little as possible on paper.

In my experience public men and women have shown a surprising and public-spirited willingness to turn over their papers and to arrange for them to be made available eventually to historians, always providing that a decent and seemly interval is to pass before access to them is to be complete and unconditional. I have been further impressed by the number of occasions upon which these conditions have been attached, not from a personal viewpoint, but because the donor felt it would be unfair to make available immediately the letters and papers of other people, with whom he had corresponded and conducted affairs.

I should perhaps mention another type of restriction that we have agreed upon from time to time to meet special circumstances. On several occasions historians engaged in a study of the career of some notable personage have found collections of papers that had disappeared. Some years ago, for example, Dr. Maurice Careless saw in Scotland the papers of George Brown, founder and editor of the *Toronto Globe* and one of the great political figures of the Confederation period. Thanks to him, the original papers came to Ottawa, and in return we agreed to give him the exclusive use of the papers for a reasonable period. There were some protests, but it seems to me that any other arrangement would have been unfair to Careless—so unfair, in fact, that I should not have blamed him in the least if he had arranged to have the collection placed where his special interests would be protected.

The George Brown Papers are now available to the public; so are the papers of the Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, the former Prime Minister, which were similarly closed for a time for the benefit of his biographer. A third collection in this category, the voluminous papers of Mackenzie King, are still closed, although we hope a first segment of them may be available sometime in 1963. The King Papers, I may add, typify the uncertainties of archival life when it becomes linked with biographers. An enterprise that was expected to require three or four years—five at the most—now promises to take fifteen, but fortunately, as I have indicated, not all the papers will need to be withheld for the whole period.

In case anyone should conclude that the problem of access has been solved to everyone's satisfaction in Canada, I should like to quote from the "Note on Sources" that is found at the back of a new history of Canadian affairs in the years between 1910 and 1945:

There are obstacles to any review of Canadian history in this century. Many of the sources of information can be seen only by official or semi-official biographers.

The papers and diaries of Mackenzie King have been left to a board of executors, which in turn has been supported by a foundation. Their compilers have been inhibited by King's orders to burn a substantial part of them. Whether history properly belongs to trustees, foundations, heirs, and approved images and idols is open to question. But for the time being an indispensable part of Canadian history is being treated as private property and the residue is destined to be destroyed.

After more of the same, with reference to other collections in private hands, the "Note" continues:

These are only a very few of the many examples of the Canadian people's determination to prettify, sissify, censor, and regulate their history. There are, fortunately, many reliable historical sources even within these limits, and the writer has consulted many of them.

I could pick holes in this case, but its truth or falseness is irrelevant in the present context. What matters is that, in spite of the great range of source materials, running to millions of papers, that we have gathered and done our utmost to make available, some historians at least are still convinced that they are not getting a square deal.

The third point I want to touch upon briefly is the use made of sources by historians. I think I can say with confidence that few things please an archivist more than a sound historical study that makes full and informed use of the papers that it has been his privilege to collect. On the other hand, ineffective and slipshod use of a source can cause the archivist much anguish. He may have maneuvered and negotiated for years to secure the papers, only to see them frittered away by the incompetence of the historian who attempts to use them.

There are, perhaps, three major enemies of sound and interesting historical writing, and I suspect that my feelings about them are shared by most archivists. The first is the academic promotion treadmill—the puzzling custom (much more widespread in the United States than in Canada) that makes promotion in an institution, whose fundamental job is to teach, depend not on teaching ability but upon the number of books and articles an instructor has published. The result is a flood of mediocre writing to which even many of the best scholars must contribute, because, if they did not, embarrassing time gaps would appear between the publication dates of their major books. Last summer, to quote a single instance, an American professor visiting Ottawa discussed an important long-term research project with me and then asked if I had a lesser enterprise to suggest, since he felt

that he "must print something in 1962." The result of this system is to turn even the good writer into a hack and to produce poor potboiling books that spoil the market for a good one on the same subject for a decade at least. I live in hope that one day the academic community will rise up in rebellion against this sort of thing.

My second quarrel is with the narrowness of the research interests of many historians. Many of the articles in historical journals are now so specialized that I suspect that they are of real interest to no more than a couple of dozen people. And I find that this narrowness of interest extends to reading as well as writing; only those articles that relate to an extremely restricted field are considered worth reading. Standing, as we undoubtedly do, on the threshold of an electronic age in which many of our activities will be keyed to computers and all manner of data processors, the prospect is a little frightening. For it is probable that before long all learned journals will be indexed and coded to such a degree that we shall be able to order photocopies of everything that has appeared in a specified field of interest without the necessity of even glancing at a contents page. Then the specialist will indeed come into his own and be able to pursue his own narrow way without being in the least danger of knowing what other people are thinking or doing. Here again, surely, someday, the worm will turn.

Finally, I quarrel with the dullness that characterizes much historical writing. In some unfortunate way dullness seems to have become associated in the academic mind with soundness; the general impression seems to be that if something is readable and interesting, if it is presented with dash and style, it must be historically dubious. Historians, to my mind, seem to be in danger of forgetting that style is the greatest of all preservatives; that, in Lowell's phrase, it is "fame's great antiseptic"; and that few works can hope to live without it. Style is the quality that makes us read on and on, instead of merely looking up the page or two that deals with a detail that happens to be of interest to us at the moment. If we glance at our bookshelves and distinguish between the volumes we read and those we merely use, we find that style is the quality that most often divides the two. "The artistic representation of history is a more scientific and serious pursuit than the exact writing of history," Aristotle wrote more than two thousand years ago. "For the art of letters goes to the heart of things, whereas the factual report merely collocates details."

I feel strongly on this point because, if our historians have important things to say, surely it is equally important that they should say them themselves, in works that will have some chance of being read by the general

public as well as by their academic brethren. The average historian distrusts and perhaps despises the popularizer, frequently with good reason, but my contention is that, in the best sense, they themselves should be the popularizers, bringing knowledge and opinion to the masses. Once in a while it would surely do them good to go on a mental spree and venture out, if need be, on a few limbs that are not buttressed every inch of their length by footnotes.

You may feel that in all of this I am getting very far away from the archivist, but I answer, not at all. For all this concerns one of the most important end products of the archivist's work and effort. And, as I have said, few things give an archivist more satisfaction than to see his work become the foundation upon which someone has built with skill and style a solid historical study.

Whatever they may think of us, I am glad to say that historians seem to find archivists useful. I try to run through most of the office mail each morning, and I find much in it that cheers and amuses me. There is the man who writes to us regularly, every six months, invariably asking the same unanswerable questions because he is quite convinced that we have never made a proper search and hopes that we may eventually be trapped into making one. Incidentally, he shares with a good many more notable historians a firm conviction that the evidence he is seeking indubitably exists, if only those archivists in Ottawa had the intelligence to find it. Not long ago I received a letter that included a truly formidable list of queries about a gentleman who played an important part in the early history of Nova Scotia. Prompt answers were obviously expected, and the writer apparently saw nothing inconsistent between this expectation and the last sentence of his letter, which read: "These are questions that I have been trying to answer for years."

And that sentence will serve as well as any to conclude these remarks, which, as you may have gathered, deal with points that I myself have been trying to answer for long enough.

British Official Histories of the Blockade of the Central Powers during the First World War

MARION C. SINEY*

IN May 1961 Her Majesty's Stationery Office announced the release for public sale of a hitherto confidential book on the blockade of Germany and its allies which had been written by Archibald C. Bell of the Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, in the 1930's.¹ Since this was one of three studies of the subject produced for official use and since the other two volumes are now available, it seems useful to consider them all in a historiographical review.

The first to be printed was written by the then Lieutenant Commander W. E. Arnold-Forster, RNVR, who was attached to the Trade Division of the Admiralty in the early months of the war and who later served as the Admiralty's representative on a variety of committees connected with economic warfare. This book, *The Economic Blockade, 1914-1919*, was printed in May 1920 as a Naval Staff Monograph. Although it was declassified in 1942, it was only recently that I was informed of this fact as a result of inquiries made by Professor W. N. Medlicott and Mr. R. W. Mason, the Foreign Office librarian.²

The second book, *History of the Blockade*, whose preface is dated June 1, 1920, was written by the well-known historian H. W. C. Davis, then vice-chairman in the War Trade Intelligence Department.³ Although a copy of this book was sent by the Comptroller General, Department of Overseas Trade, Development and Intelligence, to the Copyright Office of the British Museum on August 24, 1921, and, according to the officials in the State Paper Room, was never entered in the Suppressed Book Catalogue, I did not discover its

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¹ A. C. Bell, *A History of the Blockade of Germany and of the Countries Associated with Her in the Great War: Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, 1914-1918* (London, 1937).

² P. K. Kemp of the Historical Section of the Admiralty arranged to make a microfilm copy for me.

³ H. W. Carless Davis, *History of the Blockade, Emergency Departments* (n.p., n.d.). Mr. G. R. C. Davis of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, interceded with the proper authorities to secure permission for me to obtain a microfilm copy of his father's book.

existence there in 1936 or 1939. It was only in 1957 that Professor Medlicott told me it was in the British Museum. Apparently the Foreign Office forgot (conveniently or genuinely) that a copy had been so deposited, for Bell failed to secure permission to show me either the Davis or the Arnold-Forster studies in 1936.

In the preface Davis announced his book as the first installment of a general history of the blockade, and in one sense Bell's book seems to be the continuation Davis contemplated. Bell, who had worked with Henry Newbolt in completing the study, *Naval Operations, History of the Great War Based on Official Documents*, which had been begun by Sir Julian S. Corbett,⁴ undertook this new task in the early 1930's, under the joint direction of the Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, and the Library of the Foreign Office, which was responsible for all historical work undertaken by that department. The manuscript of this book was completed in 1936, and its preface is dated March 1, 1937.⁵

Bell undertook the work initially with the hope that like the studies by C. Ernest Fayle on *Seaborne Trade* and by Sir Archibald Hurd on *The Merchant Navy*, his book would be released for public distribution.⁶ By 1936 he knew, to his disappointment and regret, that this was not to be. Instead, it was printed and kept solely for official use.

During the Second World War the Germans, by some now unknown route, secured a copy of Bell's book. Under the direction of Dr. Viktor Böhmert, professor at the University of Kiel, a book based on the part of Bell's book that covered the blockade to the end of 1915 was published in 1943.⁷ Presumably the British government had distributed some copies of the Bell work in Northern Europe, and one fell into German hands as a captured document.

A careful reading of these three official studies may make one wonder why they were not generally distributed before 1939. The most probable explana-

⁴ Sir Julian S. Corbett and Henry Newbolt, *Naval Operations, History of the Great War Based on Official Documents* (5 vols., London, 1920-31).

⁵ When I was doing research on my doctoral dissertation, which was later published in an expanded version (Marion C. Siney, *The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-1916* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957]), I was introduced to Bell by Arnold-Forster. Bell secured permission for me to read his manuscript, and he gave me permission to cite it in my doctoral dissertation. Anyone who compares my book with his can easily see how much I was indebted to him for both suggestions and materials.

⁶ C. Ernest Fayle, *Seaborne Trade, History of the Great War Based on Official Documents* (3 vols., London, 1920-24); Sir Archibald S. Hurd, *The Merchant Navy: History of the Great War Based on Official Documents* (3 vols., London, 1921-29).

⁷ *Die englische Hungerblockade im Weltkrieg, 1914-1915*, ed. Viktor Böhmert (Essen, 1943). References to this book were made in the final defense on behalf of Admiral Karl Dönitz at the Nuremberg trials on July 14, 1946. (See *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* [42 vols., Nuremberg, 1948], XVIII, 351, 358.)

tion, I think, is that they leveled very definite criticisms against particular neutral governments or their citizens. If there was any likelihood that Great Britain might find itself again in a war with Germany in which some of the same measures of economic warfare were applied, these revelations might well arouse unhappy memories and make more difficult new negotiations to secure controls over neutral trade. At the end of the Second World War the British government felt no such compunctions about the publication of the official history written by Medlicott, *The Economic Blockade*.

Davis' book was concerned mainly with the organization of the blockade, but he did not deal minutely with department and committee operations. It is evident from acknowledgments in several footnotes that Davis had the cooperation of men who had worked in these organizations during the war.

One gets a good idea both of the evolution of blockade policy and its administration, particularly the process by which information about neutral and enemy traders was assembled from a variety of sources (cable and mail censorship, reports from intelligence agents and British consular officials) and then used to determine the fate of particular consignments bound for ports of neutral states bordering on Germany. The chapters dealing with the financial blockade, established through controls of banking and the insurance market, are in some ways the most revealing, simply because nowhere else are these matters discussed in detail. Although Davis showed that controls of this sort were begun most reluctantly for fear of the consequences they would have in the postwar period, he did not give the impression that this side of the blockade was a failure.⁸

Arnold-Forster's book is divided into sections dealing with the history of the blockade, the methods of the blockade, and possible future applications of it by the League of Nations or by separate states. Despite the fact that this book was written for the Admiralty, a relatively small proportion of it is concerned directly with naval operations. An excellent chapter, however, shows the problems involved in the visit and search of vessels. Some of the most interesting chapters deal with controls over particular commodities (copper, meat products, cotton, and so forth). Occasionally interdepartmental differences within the British government are emphasized, usually to the disparagement of the Board of Trade, differences that Arnold-Forster felt led to a process of attempting to stop leaks, one by one, only after the injury to the blockade had been done.

Bell's study was more ambitious than the other two and was obviously

⁸ In an interview I had in 1939 with the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who as Lord Robert Cecil had been the Minister of Blockade from 1916 onward, he said that the financial blockade was the least successful of any of the measures undertaken.

based on much more extensive documentation. For the most part it utilized Foreign Office materials (which include those of the special departments created to deal with particular aspects of the blockade), and except for occasional indications, the participation of the Board of Trade and Admiralty in the operation was not covered. From the preface one learns that the Admiralty saw a typescript of this book and made valuable suggestions, but the Board of Trade "declined to take any responsibility for the history." When one reads the criticism that Bell frequently made of the "easy" policies of the Board of Trade, this is understandable. The great regret of most historians will be, however, that there are very few citations to precise British documents, so that if in the future historians gain access to these same materials it would be a monumental task to retrace the steps that led Bell to his conclusions. One should, perhaps, be grateful for as many lengthy quotations from unpublished correspondence as there are.⁹

Bell went to some lengths to show the basic differences in viewpoint that characterized the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade, and the Admiralty on the formulation of policy within the British government and the frequently heated controversies that ensued. In the case of the Board of Trade the tendency was to guard zealously the interests of British export trade unless it could be proved beyond doubt that withholding such goods as Germany might get through neutral intermediaries could genuinely cripple Germany's ability to continue the war. To a great extent this attitude was dictated by fear that neutral, particularly American, merchants would displace Britons in neutral markets, not only for the duration of the war but in the postwar period. For this reason the Board of Trade wanted to be the sole judge of how stringently British export prohibitions should be enforced, or, in other words, how readily the British exporter desiring to send goods to, say, Scandinavia, should be granted an export license. The divergence of view on this went back to 1911-1912 when, during inquiries into possibilities of conducting economic warfare against Germany, the Board of Trade had been very doubtful of success in trying to stop indirect trade with the enemy. Indeed, it had believed that Britain would be injured in such an attempt more than Germany. In 1915 the board demanded that, in spite of great increases in British exportations of certain foods and oils to Scandinavia and the Netherlands, any rationing of British exports must be part of a general

⁹ This is, of course, the policy followed in many official histories, including William N. Medlicott, *The Economic Blockade*, in the *History of the Second World War* (United Kingdom Civil Series) (2 vols., London, 1952-59). There may be some doubt as to how much of the documentation on economic warfare in the First World War has been preserved, since I understand that the papers of the Ministry of Blockade were disposed of in about 1926.

rationing of imports by neutral countries from all sources, neutral and Allied alike (pp. 165 ff., 184 ff., 272, 405).

Once the war began, the Admiralty, on the other hand, was apt to take a more doctrinaire view of the sanctity of economic pressures and to be most reluctant to admit that political considerations might require some modifications to satisfy neutral needs or neutral opinion. Bell cited as one example the harsh criticism that the Admiralty representatives on the Contraband Committee and the Restriction of Enemy Supply Committee made of proposed concessions to Switzerland (p. 303). Of greater consequence was the Admiralty's rather highhanded treatment of the Dutch fishing ships that it brought into British ports and detained in wholesale lots in mid-1916, as a means of forcing the sale of a large part of the Dutch catch to Britain rather than almost exclusively to Germany. Although the Foreign Office had agreed to such an operation, they had never understood that it would be carried out so indiscriminately (p. 484).

The charge was frequently made during the height of the war by those associated with the blockade agencies in London that British diplomatic representatives abroad, especially Sir Esme Howard in Stockholm and Sir Mansfeldt Findlay in Christiania, were too much inclined to accept the views of the neutral governments as valid. Certainly Howard had a very lively appreciation of the internal situation in Sweden where there was a fairly important group of activists who favored intervention on Germany's side simply to keep the balance against Russia. Howard looked on Kurt Wallenberg, the Swedish Foreign Minister, as a steadying force, and he was more inclined to take Wallenberg's word for what was and what was not possible. Bell believed that the British were unwise to permit the accumulation of neutral grievances (some arising from large-scale detentions of cargoes bound for Swedish ports), and he discounted the charges made by M.W.W.P. Consett, British naval attaché in Stockholm, that the blockade measures with respect to Sweden were largely ineffective.¹⁰ True, in 1915 Howard and O. S. Philpotts, the assistant commercial attaché, had to admit reluctantly that the Swedes were telling them less than the truth about the administration of the Swedish embargoes (pp. 326, 339). Later there was much British discontent over German purchases of goods originally imported by Swedish government departments (p. 527), and over the misuse of Swedish diplomatic cable facilities from South America. In the end, in Bell's view—one shared by

¹⁰ Montagu W. W. P. Consett, *The Triumph of Unarmed Forces (1914-1918): An Account of the Transactions by which Germany during the Great War Was Able to Obtain Supplies Prior to Her Collapse under the Pressure of Economic Forces* (London, 1923).

Arnold-Forster—Sweden was treated more severely by the Allies than any other neutral (p. 526), to the detriment of the general standard of living and the rate of industrial production in Sweden. This may go far to explain why in the Second World War Sweden was determined to do everything it could to maintain normal levels of trade with both belligerents.¹¹

To a large extent Sweden used effectively the means of counterpressures it had, particularly the regulation of the transit of goods over its railways to Russia, but Bell remarked on the failure of Sweden to withhold its ball bearings from the Allies (p. 532). In his opinion such action would have jeopardized the major part of Britain's war production, for some kinds of ball bearings were only produced by *SKF* (*Svenska Kullagerfabriken*) of Göteborg, and not even by their daughter firm, Skefko Ball Bearing Company, Ltd., of Luton, England, which acted as *SKF*'s distributing agent.¹² The official Swedish historian, Torsten Gihl, does not raise this question in his study of Swedish foreign policy.¹³

Those sections of Bell's book dealing with American policy may well be of greatest interest to American historians. The importance of American opposition to, or toleration of, British blockade policy was never lost from sight either by the Foreign Office during the war or by Bell. He emphasized quite properly the importance of Wilson's desire to act as a mediator in the formation of his policies toward both belligerent camps, his insistence on a kind of mandate from the American people before taking firm measures against the German submarine campaign (p. 439), and, on the other hand, his general willingness to tolerate Allied restrictions even in the face of criticism. Spring Rice, the British ambassador in Washington, and his advisers were never quite clear in identifying or explaining "the steadying influence that operated so continuously in our favor" (p. 415), although they could give the names "of the congressmen and political managers" who tried to provoke counteraction.

Bell reserved the greatest contempt for the American meat packers who early in the war did such a thriving business in Denmark, and later in Sweden, using these countries as a conduit for supplies to Germany. To the British they were "a gang of commercial adventurers" (p. 78), a "junta of American traders" (p. 289) who tried every stratagem to avoid control over exports to Germany. In the end the British made an agreement with the

¹¹ See the account of Sweden's economic policy in the Second World War by Gunnar Hägglöf, *Svensk krigshandelspolitik under andra världskriget* (Stockholm, 1958).

¹² On the position of this Swedish firm, see Birger Steckzén, *Svenska Kullagerfabriken: En svensk exportindustris historia, 1907-1957* (Göteborg, 1959).

¹³ Torsten Gihl, *Den svenska utrikes politikens historia* (Stockholm, 1951).

packers settling claims that arose out of detained and condemned cargoes and regulating their future exports to Northern Europe.¹⁴

Bell gave full praise to Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana for being "so studiously moderate" in his concern over copper exports (p. 135), but he was sharply critical of Senator Hoke Smith's agitation about cotton (p. 315), and Senator William J. Stone's on behalf of the owners of the conditional contraband grain cargo in the *Wilhelmina*, which was consigned to an American firm in Hamburg (p. 135).

American complaints about *navicerts*, a kind of commercial passport, and black lists were not artificial, in Bell's opinion, but the fact that American trade profited from the former in terms of security seems clear (pp. 563-564).¹⁵ Moreover, the United States government itself ultimately accepted the principle of black-listing. The minor operations of the economic warfare, however, provoked more anger than the major ones. Even so, never in its disgust and distress did the United States government show any intention of cooperating in a formal sense with other neutrals to combat the Allied measures.

To a surprising degree, perhaps to some minds an unnecessary one, Bell fully explored the German countermeasures of economic warfare: their attempts to build up neutral sources of supply (pp. 39-40); their pressures on neutrals by withholding German exports; and particularly the development of their submarine campaign. Using memoirs and the official history, *Der Handelskrieg mit U-Booten*,¹⁶ Bell related the struggle within the German Admiralty and between the navy and the Chancellor.

In the early discussions in 1915 Von Pohl was the manipulator who overestimated the use to which the weapon could then be put. This uncompromising attitude came also to characterize Reinhold Scheer, while Henning von Holtzendorff remained much more moderate until relatively late in the deliberations.¹⁷ The fact that down to the summer of 1915 neutral trade was

¹⁴ See Marion C. Siney, "British Negotiations with American Meat Packers, 1915-1916: A Study of Belligerent Trade Controls," *Journal of Modern History*, XXIII (Dec. 1951), 343-53, based on documents in the files of the late Henry Veeder, counsel for Swift and Company. Nowhere does Bell suggest that the packers were, perhaps, prevented from securing the advantages they had expected to get in facilitating their trade with Norway, for instance.

¹⁵ Compare Hugh Ritchie, *The "Navicert" System during the World War* (Washington, D. C., 1938), with Bell's book. Ritchie had been on the Foreign Office staff and was permitted to write the book on this single phase of the blockade as a kind of reply to a request from the Research in International Law of the Harvard Law School in 1938 for permission to use British archives in connection with an attempt to draw up an unofficial draft convention on the rights and duties of neutral states in naval and aerial war. Professor Philip Jessup was connected with this project.

¹⁶ Arno Spindler, *Der Handelskrieg mit U-Booten der Krieg zur See, 1914-1918* (3 vols., Berlin, 1932-34).

¹⁷ Karl E. Birnbaum, *Peace Moves and U-Boat Warfare: A Study of Imperial Germany's*

relatively little disturbed by submarines and that neutral protests were not particularly sharp led the supporters of this policy to persist in their advocacy without ever properly assessing the ultimate consequences for German relations with the United States and other neutrals. Bell insisted that the results of submarine warfare, even after the modifications that came in the wake of the *Lusitania* controversy, were good from the German viewpoint, and he charged the submarine commanders with simple dishonesty for failing to make clear what they could do even when applying the rules of cruiser warfare. The United States had granted a kind of writ of toleration to this sort of submarine warfare, and, in Bell's opinion, Germany could easily have avoided new controversy with the United States by continuing as it was. Over and over again he appeared astonished that the German high command was not satisfied with the results then being achieved. In the end the decision in January 1917 for unrestricted warfare "rested with men who thought it their duty to leave reason behind" (p. 601).

Bell showed that by comparison the divergences of view within the British government were always less and that never would Great Britain have persisted in its policies to the point where they would bring about a break with the United States. "This principle," he said, "was not established by making surveys of the economic power of the United States; it was simply accepted as an axiom in Euclid is accepted" (p. 603). Another difference was that the British never expected their economic campaign to be decisive, nor that any particular objective would be gained by it. The proponents of unrestricted submarine warfare predicted theirs would bring about Britain's collapse in six to eight months.

The period from early 1917 to the armistice was treated in a much less detailed fashion, mainly because the blockade machinery was already working at nearly full force, and such negotiations as were undertaken to improve the system's efficiency were left mainly in the hands of the United States. Just as earlier Bell had shown some of the differences that arose between the British and French governments, he now dealt with mutual British and American suspicions. The United States received the early proposals for co-operation in the economic campaign very cautiously, being fearful that it would be brought to participate in operations it had hitherto claimed were illegal.

At the same time the United States was concerned that too strict a policy might drive Denmark into the arms of Germany (p. 621). It was further

Policy towards the United States, April 18, 1916-January 9, 1917 (Stockholm, 1958), 47, 133, 139-40, shows Holtzendorff to have been less moderate than Bell's book indicates.

alarmed by such snatches of intelligence as it received in May 1917 about British plans for aiding Norway if it intervened on the Allied side, for the British would then expect American naval aid. All this occurred just as the United States decision for the coercion of neutrals through American embargoes was taken. Later in 1917 the United States learned of British plans to lay a mine field across the northern entrance to the North Sea and, perhaps, seize some Norwegian port—Stavanger was suggested—to use as a base for patrolling these waters. Although no decision was ever made to carry out these proposals, the Norwegian government was aware of them, and every time United States negotiators appeared very demanding in early 1918 the government in Christiania at once suspected they were purposely so, in order to secure a refusal and then have an excuse “for executing their other designs by force of arms” (p. 647). In view of Allied plans in 1940 to undertake operations in Norwegian territorial waters, these revelations have more than a passing interest.

Bell's estimates of the consequences of the blockade were not particularly detailed until his final chapters. At the end of 1915, he asserted, the controls over German exports constituted a greater victory than anything achieved by the armies on the western front. In view of their singular lack of success, this may have been merely consoling. At the end of 1916 the German armies fought on, well supplied and in good spirits, but a survey of the German press and of intercepted letters showed that prices of food in German markets had risen alarmingly, a sign of growing scarcity. This scarcity was brought about by a poor harvest, bad transportation, and lack of manpower, but Bell believed that the loss of imported nitrates and other fertilizers, for which British controls were responsible, had aggravated these shortages (p. 580). By 1916 the Central Powers were raising economic barriers against each other, with even Hungary withholding food from Austria; thus here, too, a certain disintegrating force was at work. Later reports indicated that the worst suffering of civilians came in the winter of 1916–1917 (p. 686). On the other hand, Bell showed the tremendous effect, both economic and psychological, that the victory over Rumania in December 1916 had. This more than anything else encouraged the German generals and admirals to decide upon the submarine adventure, which they themselves acknowledged to be justified only by the desperate straits to which the nation was reduced (p. 581).

The final chapters dealing with the collapse of Germany in 1917–1918 rely heavily on the investigations into this subject by the *Reichstag* in

1919-1920.¹⁸ Bell concluded that the secondary consequences of the blockade, measured by rates of illness and death, were decisive. Beyond this the German people were infected by a "blind and contagious anger against authority" (p. 674), which showed itself in strikes, arising from both economic distress and political discontent. Bell traced in some detail (perhaps more than was strictly called for by his subject) the growing unrest in the *Reichstag* and the navy. The importance of the scarcities to the German authorities is further illustrated by the fact that the only part of the armistice terms that provoked passion were those relating to a continuation of economic warfare.

The cursory way in which Bell dealt with the minor members of the *Central Powers* merely reflects the fact that both the blockade in the Mediterranean and the materials on it were less satisfactory. Nor does Bell have much to say about the relaxation of the blockade, which, after all, is another subject very closely connected with the whole economic machinery of the Paris Peace Conference.

Only historians who have access to information from neutral sources or to some of the same British documents Bell used will be able to check his conclusions. Undoubtedly there are places in the book where one can criticize his viewpoint, his interpretation, or his reading of documents. One may speculate whether the idea that, in a future war with Germany, economic warfare would prove a decisive factor was either advanced or retarded by this book. Obviously it could have had no part in the formulation of public opinion, and since it was written as late as it was, it seems doubtful that it influenced British officials very much. Although many of the same methods were used in the Second World War, it seems more likely that they were arrived at because of the current situation, and not as part of a conscious effort to revive the practices of a successful past.

¹⁸ *Die Ursachen des deutschen Zusammenbruchs in Jahre 1918* (12 vols., Berlin, 1926-29).

The Education of Historians in the United States

W. STULL HOLT*

ON numerous occasions the Carnegie Foundation or Corporation has supported studies of the training required for admission to various professions. The most notable of these important contributions was Abraham Flexner's report in 1910 on medical education, which had a profound impact on that profession. Consequently, it was natural to turn to the Carnegie Corporation when the American Historical Association, the major organization of the historical profession in the United States, decided that a study of the recruitment and training of new members of the profession was urgently needed. The requested funds were provided, and a committee of six prominent scholars, with Dexter Perkins as chairman, assumed responsibility for the project. Professor John Snell, on leave from Tulane University for two years, acted as director of the study, visiting many graduate schools, where he interviewed both faculty and students, and doing the research that made possible this first intensive and careful report on *The Education of Historians in the United States*.¹ Of the ten chapters, Snell wrote all but the introduction, which was written by Perkins, and the last, which contains the recommendations of the committee.

Now facts supported by many statistical tables are available to guide thought and action. Now students and faculty can compare their situation and practices not necessarily with what are the wisest possible solutions but with those that are currently prevailing in the profession. Naturally, the statistics must be used with the grains of salt scholars customarily apply, with the knowledge that they, however accurate, may be inadequate bases on which to erect large generalizations. In some cases they are themselves necessarily merely estimates. This is notably the case in Chapter II, in which Snell forecasts the number of college teachers of history that will be needed in the near future. He makes a convincing case for his conclusion that the number, while large, will not be as great as has frequently been predicted and will not compel emergency measures.

Next comes a chapter devoted to graduate students in history. Do they

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¹ Dexter Perkins, John L. Snell, and the Committee on Graduate Education of the American Historical Association, *The Education of Historians in the United States* (New York, 1962).

compare favorably in quality with those in other fields? The answer is "no" except when compared with "other social science majors." What do they report as the most serious inadequacies in their undergraduate preparation? The leading item is foreign language training. Where do they come from? They typically received their baccalaureate degrees from large institutions. "All but four of the 25 largest undergraduate producers of history Ph.D.s between 1936 and 1956 were large institutions." If the sample of 182 recipients of the Ph.D. in 1958 is an accurate index, one was a Negro, two were Orientals, 10 per cent were women; 63 per cent came from Protestant families, 20 per cent from Catholic, and 13 per cent from Jewish; two-thirds were married males, and 44 per cent had children; 1 per cent were under twenty-six years of age, 75 per cent had passed their thirtieth birthday, and 35 per cent their thirty-sixth. Their parents were not products of higher education; only 31 per cent of the fathers and 18 per cent of the mothers had received bachelor's degrees, and 40 per cent of the fathers and 37 per cent of the mothers had not completed high school. Perhaps those facts explain the further fact that only 24 per cent of the graduate students in 1958 were receiving financial aid from their parents. Aid was relatively scanty from other sources. Both in number and in size, the stipends received by graduate students in history were smaller than those received by students in the other social sciences and of course than those by students in the sciences. More than half the Ph.D.'s of 1958 had worked full time for more than one academic year between beginning graduate study and the award of the degree.

Following two chapters, one devoted to the teaching of history in the colleges and one to the master's degree, are four on the Ph.D. degree, which constitute the heart of the report. The first of these contains much significant data. There were, in 1960, apparently eighty-eight institutions that had programs leading to the Ph.D. degree in history. Seven universities, probably assisted by the National Defense Education Act, initiated programs after 1958. Two other institutions awarded no degrees in the eleven years, 1948-1958. Others were not active, four granting only 1 degree each in the eleven-year period. In fact, twenty-seven of the seventy-nine universities granting degrees averaged fewer than 1 degree a year. Harvard, including Radcliffe, produced 377 of the 3,133 degrees in the period, or more than the combined production of the forty-two smallest producers. Columbia, with 288 degrees, produced more than the thirty-eight smallest producers. The eighteen largest producers awarded 67 per cent of all the Ph.D.'s of the period, and the twenty-eight largest producers awarded 81 per cent of the total.

Some interesting facts emerge from the analysis of the Ph.D. degrees granted by fields and by geographical sections of the country. Of the 1,458 degrees awarded in the five years, 1955-1959, just over half (748 or 51 per cent) were in United States history. The twenty-nine institutions in the East granted 45 per cent of their degrees in United States history; the seventeen institutions in the South granted 69 per cent; for the seventeen institutions in the Midwest the figure was 52 per cent; and for the eleven institutions in the West, 51 per cent. The southern universities also concentrated on Latin American history since 31 of the 68 degrees granted were from southern institutions. In fact, one southern university, Texas, gave 15 degrees in Latin American history or more than all of the universities of the West (11), or the Midwest (10), and almost equal to all from the East (16). The southern universities granted no degree in ancient history, the western only 1, the midwestern and eastern 5 each, making a total of 11 or about 2 a year for the entire country. Obviously that field of knowledge is in danger of drying up.

In the same chapter are statistics showing the teaching loads in the graduate institutions, the size of classes, and the library resources. The last, it is pointed out, are lamentably low in the seven universities that have inaugurated Ph.D. programs since 1958, even much lower than in the thirty-six universities rated in third rank as centers of Ph.D. training in history.

There is a chapter on the kinds of programs in use: the nature and number of fields required, the lecture and seminar courses offered, the part played by the doctoral dissertation (should it be a publishable book?), and the examinations generally required.

All of us in the profession and especially those in graduate institutions can find much in the chapter on the major criticisms of training for the Ph.D. degree. Both graduate students and employers of the new Ph.D.'s complain that not enough teaching has been included in the graduate program. A second widespread criticism is aimed at overspecialization and its converse, the absence of breadth. The third major criticism is on the length of time it takes to attain a Ph.D. degree. All of these points are hackneyed, but precise data are made available so that a more enlightened discussion is possible.

More valuable because the contents are less well known is the unfortunately short chapter on experiments being made at various universities. Although no radically different or fundamentally new features are incorporated, efforts are being made by a number of graduate departments to alleviate the most obvious existing difficulties. Some of these attempts to include experience in teaching, to make courses and examinations more meaningful, and to

shorten the time involved are described. It is hoped that they will be noted and adopted.

The committee recommendations in the final chapter will not, I believe, have an impact on the profession comparable to that which Flexner's report had on the medical profession. The opportunity for reform is not as great because the historical profession and the educational system by which its new members are trained are not in the deplorable condition of medical education before Flexner. As long as so large a percentage of the profession receive their training in universities that by common consent are among the best, the situation is relatively good. Yet, there is pressing need for improvement, and the recommendations of the committee must be judged in this context. Everyone will readily accept in principle the standards set by the committee. In many cases, they are like sermons against sin and are as ineffective. Who could object to the recommendation that "Ph.D. candidates should write dissertations on significant subjects, even though they may explore in detail only one aspect or a few aspects of a large topic"? But will present practice be affected?

In discussing the need to reduce the period of graduate study the committee, after stating its belief that the degree "should require no more than four academic years for most full-time Ph.D. candidates, including study for the master's degree and the completion of the Ph.D. dissertation" and after noting that the major cause of delay "is most often the financial inability of students to undertake full-time study," recommends that more nonduty fellowships and scholarships be made available. The committee further notes that many students are delayed by difficulty in passing foreign language examinations. Their solution is to suggest that the knowledge be acquired during undergraduate years and that an examination in one language be required before admittance to graduate school or by the beginning of the second year of graduate study, and in the second language by the beginning of the second year and in any case by the beginning of the third year. On the subject of length of the thesis, which has also become a serious cause of delay, the committee recommends that it should be restricted sufficiently to permit the student to do the research and writing in one calendar year of full-time work and that it "usually need not be longer than 300 typed pages." Snell stated that history theses in 1957-1958 averaged 351 pages. Will all this exhortation result in any reduction in the length of graduate study for future members of the profession? I doubt it.

On one very important subject the committee differs from Snell's recommendations. The committee asserts that three conditions "should be met by

history departments that offer Ph.D. training." These are: the department should have faculty members in at least three broad fields of history, the majority of whom must be experienced teachers whose "scholarly research contributions are recognized by fellow historians in the nation"; "financial resources for the assistance of graduate students, allocation of faculty time, and the development of faculty members as scholars"; and library resources "adequate for training in research seminars and for preparation for the general examination." Snell is both more specific and more exacting. He maintains that a department should have at least ten members in at least five broad fields of history, most of whom are recognized by fellow specialists, and adequate funds and library resources which, he urges, should exceed those of most of the seven newest universities offering the doctorate.

This leads me to a final comment. Suppose, under the pressure of a real or anticipated acute shortage of Ph.D.'s in history, many of the present weak or new and still weaker institutions begin granting degrees in large numbers. How can the standards of the profession be protected? The committee does not discuss that possibility. It is probably assumed that the competition of the market place will be adequate protection. I wonder if it is.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE CAREER OF PHILOSOPHY: FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *John Herman Randall, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 993. \$13.95.)

THE author of *The Making of the Modern Mind* (1926) and of *Nature and Historical Experience* (1958) here presents the fruit of a lifetime of teaching and scholarship centered on the history of reflective thought. In *The Career of Philosophy* Randall begins by grouping into a triad what he sees as the medieval roots of modern thought, namely, Augustinian Platonism, Thomistic Aristotelianism, and the *via moderna* of William of Ockham. He then recounts the simultaneous coming of humanism, including the rediscovery of the classics of ancient philosophy and the rise of the Reformation, and science, including the contributions of the Paduan school, on which Randall has done pioneering research, and the rise of Copernicanism. The last two parts of the book take up the sequelae of these two arrivals, in reverse order: the progress of science, including the "great debate" over continental rationalism (Descartes and Spinoza) and British empiricism (Newton and Hobbes), and the progress of humanism, including the analyses of man proposed by Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, and by the French Encyclopedists. A second volume, covering the period since Kant, is promised.

In true philosophical style, Randall introduces his subject—the history of modern thought—with short disquisitions on history, philosophy, and modern culture. History, he says, is "a continual readaptation of old materials, in the light of changing needs and problems." Philosophy "belongs to the oldest profession in the world: she exists to give men pleasure, and to satisfy their imperious needs." Modern culture, according to Randall, is a synthesis and development of themes that are rooted in scholasticism.

This book is the first attempt in several decades to provide a continuous, comprehensive, documented, analytic, and critical narrative of the vicissitudes of modern thought. It takes full account of recent scholarship. While it is rich in detail and erudition, it does not bog down. It is lively, and even at times sprightly. Its insights are revealing and persuasive. A few more subheadings in this work of almost a thousand pages would be helpful. Dividing (as the author does) a long chapter into numbered sections is a right step, but the labeling of these numbered sections with a series of integrated captions would be an improvement.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM GERBER

DIE ÖKUMENISCHEN KONZILE DER CHRISTENHEIT. By Georg Kretschmar et al. Edited by Hans Jochen Margull. (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk. 1961. Pp. 427. DM 29.50.)

WHILE Pope John XXIII has indicated in his encyclical of June 29, 1959, that the central concern of the Second Vatican Council will be the renewal of the internal life of the Roman Catholic Church, his numerous allocutions and his establishment on June 5, 1960, of the Secretariat for Christian Unity demonstrate that the problems of ecumenism are being seriously considered at Rome. Non-Catholic Christians have for their part reciprocated with a wide interest in the general synod which opened on October 11, 1962. Informed studies by Fairweather and Hardy, Pawley, Nelson, Skydsgaard, and others suggest that the Second Vatican Council has afforded occasion for significant investigation by Anglican and Protestant theologians.

Into this category of notable research falls the present volume which, edited in German under Evangelical auspices, brings together the analyses of Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed specialists. Part One, "Die Geschichte," surveys the councils of Christian antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Reformation age. Part Two, "Das Problem," assesses the past and present attitudes of the communions represented on the possibility and value of an ecumenical synod. Three studies compose the historical section. Georg Kretschmar commences his account of the conciliar activity of the first seven centuries with the anti-Montanist assemblies of the second century. The portrayal of the Donatist question, however, fails to attend to the element of ecclesiastical communion upon which St. Optatus laid such stress and which has been the subject of Hertling's "Communio und Primat" in *Xenia Piana* (1943), now revised in an Italian edition (1961). Carl Andresen's contribution on the medieval Western councils rightly marks the significance of the Roman reform synods of the eleventh century and of the conciliarism evidenced at Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1448). For the century of the Reformation, Peter Meinhold considers the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517), the Lutheran appeal for an ecumenical gathering, and the setting for Trent (1545-1563), though this last is not studied.

It is the second part, irenic as the first, that reflects deep diversity among the traditions here portrayed as to the nature and possibility of an ecumenical council. Bishop Emilianos of Meloa, the Orthodox representative, ascribes to bishops an inherent right to teach, asserts the legitimacy of doctrinal development, and recognizes synodical authority and infallibility, though without the necessity of papal ratification. Bishop Stephen Neill, on the other hand, takes his stand with the Anglican Article of Religion XXI, which avers that general councils have in fact erred and which restricts conciliar authority to those points whereon it enjoys scriptural support. For Anglicans, he suggests, synodal judgments since Chalcedon (451) are still open to question. The Lutheran tradition, here presented by Martin Seils, equally limits synodal authority to conformity with the Scriptures. Seils him-

self sees worth in a confrontation of communions that meet in penitence, and though he would prefer that a summons to such an assembly emanate from a Christian ruler, he would not decry a papal invitation advanced *iure humano* only. In Jean-Louis Leuba's account of Calvinist thought there is place for synodical disciplinary judgments enforced by the secular power. Doctrinal decisions, however, are seen as authoritative only when founded on the Scriptures. Leuba will himself advance beyond this in admitting doctrinal judgments that are proposed as helpful in the understanding of the Scriptures and that win a subsequent consensus from Christians.

The contribution of the Roman Catholic Otto Karrer is largely a prognosis of the possibilities open to the Second Vatican and an exact examination of the teaching of the First Vatican on papal primacy and infallibility. Since this last is a point of maximum divergence among Christians, attention might have been called to Karrer's own "Das Petrusamt in der Frühkirche," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz* (1958), Volume I. The concluding essay by Edmund Schlink analyzes both the World Council of Churches and the Second Vatican Council against the background of conciliar history.

Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey HENRY G. J. BECK

THE SCIENTIFIC RENAISSANCE, 1450-1630. By *Marie Boas*. [The Rise of Modern Science, Volume II.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Pp. 380. \$6.00.)

As the first in a projected series of eight volumes on "The Rise of Modern Science," edited by A. Rupert Hall, this book deserves special attention. The series itself starts with an as yet unpublished volume on "The Greek Origins of Modern Science"; then, skipping, on rather dubious grounds, the medieval period, it resumes with the present volume, to be followed by "Galileo to Newton," and so on to the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the audience at which the series is aimed is not clear. This affects Miss Boas' book, although her work ought to be judged on its own right.

Her task is an enormously difficult one. She must cover a wide range of subjects—mathematics, physics, astrology, astronomy, physiology, anatomy, alchemy, mapping, and so forth—while sustaining the thesis that the period 1450-1630 is a definite stage in the scientific revolution. This stage, the "Scientific Renaissance," marks the assimilation and transformation of Greek science in the West. It is asserted to be both a period of "curiously consistent" change and, equally, a "break with the past." It begins with the humanist recovery of texts and ends with the realization that modern scientific thought is superior to that of the ancients.

The gifts that the author brings to her task are formidable: competence in Greek science and the varied fields of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century science; knowledge of minor figures and the major ones; an interest in the connection of science and literature; and a clear, though not a winning, style. Above all, she is

aware of the enterprise of science from "within." As she makes clear, the scientists of her period generally started from the books and theories of thinkers like Ptolemy and Galen, rather than from original and direct observation, and the "solutions" of previous scientists, which then raised such new problems as when Copernicus, by displacing the earth as the center of the universe, made untenable the Aristotelian view that heavy bodies fall naturally to the center, and thus "left gravity as a mysterious or occult force, needing explanation in a way that it had not done before."

In the period covered by the author, the scientific changes that took place primarily marked the beginning of a revolution in "ways of thinking" (unfortunately, the elements of this change are left largely to the reader to group for himself; Miss Boas makes overtures to philosophy, but the gesture is not convincing). The sharp division of the earth from celestial bodies was bridged, and the "breaking of the circle" effected with a consequent surge toward an indefinitely large or an infinite universe. The human body was conceived of as a mechanical system and opened to investigation by men such as Vesalius and Harvey (though, as Miss Boas points out, it is a myth that human dissection was prohibited in the Middle Ages). The experimental method was encouraged, and new instruments, such as the telescope, devised to extend man's observations. Important problems—the relations of science and religion, of mysticism and rationalism, and of the evidence of the senses to the theories of the mind—were raised and probed.

Alas, with all its virtues the book combines a number of aspects that invite serious criticism. Many of its pages are mere listings of names and titles, and the reader is lost and bored in a seeming catalogue of pedantry. Thus, it is really only after the first two chapters that Miss Boas hits her stride with a happy chapter on the Copernican revolution (in general, the chapters on major figures are good). The treatment of humanism and its relation to science is fundamental to the thesis of the book, yet historians will not be content with the thin and unsupported picture of humanism that is presented. The fact is that the book falls between the proverbial two stools. It does not present anything fundamentally new to the specialist in history of science. It will probably leave the general historian and his students somewhat in the position of the man who has lost sight of the forest for the trees, especially because there are other books that cover roughly the same period and problems more attractively, for example, *The Origins of Modern Science* by Herbert Butterfield, and *The Scientific Revolution: 1500–1800* by Miss Boas' husband, A. Rupert Hall. Thus, the most likely use of the book is as a reference (and with this said, one wonders why the bibliography was not made more complete, after the model of Langer's "Rise of Modern Europe" series). This, though not an awful fate, is an unjust one for a book that is potentially, and in part, one of the most valuable efforts at summarizing the highly significant and now carefully researched development of science in the period of the Renaissance.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

BRUCE MAZLISH

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES: BACON TO KANT. By *Robert McRae*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. x, 148. \$4.50.)

AFTER indicating in his preface that the unification of science was an essential part of the programs of Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, the Encyclopedists, and Kant, McRae explains that this ideal of unity of sciences is a very complex conception on which there was (and still is) a considerable variety of opinions. Both philosophers and historians of science have recently been concerned with this question; thus the present contribution to its history is welcome. Although this is a short book, it is carefully thought out, and not the least of its merits is to point out differences of meaning and intention where authors use the same terms.

The theories of unification and unity of sciences treated are those of Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, Condillac, Diderot, D'Alembert, and Kant. For Bacon, the unity of sciences resides in the unity of method and subject matter and is expressed in the form of "Philosophia Prima, Primitive, or Summary Philosophy." This comprises axioms that belong to several (but not to all) sciences, it indicates the footsteps of nature impressed on several subjects, and it finds its utility as applied to particular sciences. The unity Bacon finds expressed in nature is the primary force or impulse in the basic particles.

In Descartes, McRae discovers the unity of science in universal wisdom, or otherwise stated, good understanding that is equally shared by all men. This unity of reason, according to Descartes, corresponds to a unity of subject matter. It also implies that there is a single method for the discovery of truth. It is not difficult to see how Descartes could conceive of the sciences as one great deductive system. Descartes's frank admission that experiments are necessary in this scheme is not overlooked. Yet here is a puzzle McRae discusses, but makes no attempt to solve. And, if there is any criticism to be made of his otherwise excellent effort, it is that the chronological treatment of the subject under discussion should be extended to the individual authors. For it is very probable that the views of Descartes, for example, underwent some alteration from *Le Monde*, say, to the *Discours*.

In the case of Leibniz, the possibility of unifying knowledge is conceived in terms of giving a demonstrative structure to all kinds of knowledge, and the necessity of unification was imposed on Leibniz (and later writers) by the somewhat sudden and bewildering increase of scientific information in modern times. In him we also encounter the idea of a universal language, which will be pursued into the eighteenth century and even later.

The reaction against the notion of an all-embracing system is encountered in Condillac. As McRae points out, Condillac is not opposed to all systems but to those which start from axioms and proceed synthetically to those which employ hypotheses. Condillac is fascinated by the notion that language is the main instrument of analysis (the only correct method of system making), and, although his

views will seem to us extraordinarily naïve and crudely mistaken, this concern with language will be of interest to philosophers of our own time.

An entirely different notion of unification, that of an encyclopedia using the method of cross reference, is presented by Diderot and D'Alembert. It would have been important to point out more forcibly than McRae does that this is not a genuine case of unifying knowledge at all.

In his final chapter, the author discusses the views of Kant. Here each science has its own "architectonic" and thus is a system in its own right. So far there is no over-all unity. But, from a different aspect of Kant's thought, it turns out that the sciences taken together have some sort of organic unity which depends, ultimately, on Kant's doctrine that understanding and reason impose a unity on nature, first because the structure of human thought determines the general forms of natural objects and processes and second because reason imposes on scientific research certain maxims to follow and certain ultimate ideals toward which we must work (although there is no guarantee that these ideals will be achieved).

McRae has written a useful and accurate account.

University of Wisconsin

JULIUS WEINBERG

MITRE AND SCEPTRE: TRANSATLANTIC FAITHS, IDEAS, PERSONALITIES, AND POLITICS, 1689-1775. By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 354. \$7.50.)

Two generations ago Arthur Lyon Cross wrote *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*. Professor Bridenbaugh tells us that his own book is intended to "supplement rather than to replace" Cross's work "and to deal with matters he did not investigate."

Mitre and Sceptre does just that. Materials unavailable sixty years ago and new angles of vision make possible a fresh appraisal of an important phase of America's colonial and revolutionary history. While much of the narrative is the familiar one of religious disputes within the colonies, its main contribution lies in tracing the transatlantic ties that linked Dissenters and the bonds that united Anglicans. Dissenters on both sides of the ocean joined in a well-organized battle to prevent the establishment of a bishop in America. So deeply engaged were the emotions of the colonists fearing ecclesiastical tyranny that we are rightly reminded, once again, "that religion was a fundamental cause of the American Revolution." In time it came to be the belief of many in America that continued association with Britain imperiled religious as well as civil liberties. Out of the efforts of Dissenters in the colonies came the vision of a community transcending provincial boundaries, a vision that promised the creation of an American nation.

In England the most vigorous proponent of a colonial episcopate was Thomas Secker, eventually archbishop of Canterbury. In America his chief allies were Samuel Johnson, president of King's College (Columbia), and Thomas Bradbury Chandler. Their Dissenter opponents were ably marshaled in the colonies

by Ezra Stiles, and in England by Thomas Hollis, guardian of religious and civil liberty in the Atlantic world.

Nonconformists had worked out by 1760 an efficient intelligence network binding together like-minded individuals within the colonies and across the ocean. The better-known Committees of Correspondence organized by Sam Adams and his colleagues in the revolutionary era had been anticipated years before by militant ministers. The hopes of Anglicans for an episcopate were weakened by lack of support from fellow religionists in southern colonies. A Church of England official in South Carolina appraised the situation realistically in 1765: "The Principles of most of the Colonists in America are independent in Matters of Religion as well as republican in those of Government." And he added that an American bishop would be as unwelcome as a distributor of stamps.

This book's virtues are many, its flaws few. No one will dispute the statement that responsibility for loss of the colonies should be shouldered by the Church of England along with the English political system, Parliament, and the crown. The debatable point is the weight of responsibility. I believe that Bridenbaugh assigns to the Church possibly too much blame. He does not indicate that others have judged colonial fears of episcopacy to have been exaggerated, though they were genuine. The contribution of Quakers in this transatlantic struggle for civil and religious liberty is insufficiently treated. In accenting religion along with the economic and political factors bringing on the Revolution he may have overstated his case. Dissenting opinion aside, *Mitre and Sceptre* is an excellent addition to the growing list of studies widening the perspective on colonial history. At the same time it is a tribute to the men within the British Empire who fought to enlarge the area of freedom in the Atlantic community.

City College of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

ANARCHISM: A HISTORY OF LIBERTARIAN IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS. By *George Woodcock*. [Meridian Books.] (New York: World Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. 504. \$1.95.)

THE literature on anarchism has been rich in studies of individual anarchists and in monographs on regional movements. What has been lacking is a comprehensive survey of the movement. The general works that exist were written many years ago by such men as Max Nettlau, Rudolf Rocker, and P. Eltzbacher who were themselves passionately engaged in the struggle. G. D. H. Cole's recent *Socialist Thought* treated anarchism as part of the broader history of working-class movements. Alain Sergent and Claude Harmel's *Histoire de l'Anarchie* has remained uncompleted. This well-written paperback thus fills a very important gap for scholar and general reader alike.

In Part I, "The Idea," Woodcock traces anarchist theory from its precursors to its six classical exponents: Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Tolstoi. Anarchism was the libertarian idea thought through to its last logical

consequences. But it was never a mere negation of government. Rather it represented a positive "system of social thought aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society." What bound these very diverse thinkers together beyond their common denial of governmental coercion and distinguished them sharply from the socialists was their rejection of any rigid doctrine or vision of utopia, their disavowal of the idea of progress, and their asceticism.

An almost encyclopedic account of the various anarchist movements follows in the second part on "The Movement." The story was similar everywhere: the transition from a terroristic phase to revolutionary syndicalism, the schisms during World War I, the decline after the war. With the fall of Barcelona in 1939, the movement was dead although anarchists and anarchist ideas survived. Its death was inevitable. For anarchism, Woodcock concludes, was essentially a movement of rebellion on the part of men, particularly in the less developed areas of Europe, who passionately resisted the forces of growing state power and of centralization that accompany industrial society. Anarchism's lasting contribution to the modern world was a "counter-ideal," necessary "if human values are to survive," to be posed against "the totalitarian goal of a uniform world."

In criticism one may wonder whether Woodcock has not identified the anarchist movements too exclusively with the libertarian idea. Perhaps law is an essential component of liberty. Certainly in practice anarchism seems to have presented a much less effective counterideal to totalitarianism than did the tradition of liberal democracy. Indeed in their frequent willingness to resort to violence and let the end justify the means, anarchist movements undoubtedly contributed to the nihilistic atmosphere in which their Bolshevik and Fascist enemies arose.

Dillard University

GEORG G. IGGERS

BRITAIN, RUSSIA, AND THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF 1780: SIR JAMES HARRIS'S MISSION TO ST. PETERSBURG DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Isabel de Madariaga*. With a foreword by *Samuel Flagg Bemis*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 496. \$8.75.)

THIS admirable monograph adds much to our understanding of European diplomacy during the American Revolution. Essentially, it is the story of Russian policy toward Britain, and neither American nor British events receive much attention, although in order to make imperial diplomacy understandable Miss Madariaga has found it necessary to explore Russian relations with other powers, particularly Prussia, Austria, and Turkey. The Armed Neutrality receives close attention, but perhaps equal space is given to the Empress' attempts to mediate the Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch wars. The intricate and detailed result is what has long been needed, a full-dress treatment of Catherine's English policy from 1777 to 1783.

Three themes dominate Miss Madariaga's narrative. The first and least original is the ineptitude of British diplomats, who persisted in viewing Russian policy as the product of conflicts of personality at court rather than the expression of Russian national interests. The second theme is the relative success of the Armed Neutrality. In opposition to many predecessors, the author argues that it led to the relaxation of British measures against neutral commerce, and thus achieved its purpose. Except when she attempts to explain away the virtual betrayal of the Dutch by Russia and the league, Miss Madariaga makes a convincing case. Equally successful is her elucidation of the third theme, the wisdom and the dominance of the Empress Catherine, who rose above the conflicts between her lieutenants, Potemkin and Panin, to keep Russian policy following a consistent line. In particular, Miss Madariaga demolishes the old legends that the Empress neither knew what she was doing, nor particularly cared about, nor was primarily responsible for the establishment of the Armed Neutrality.

Although Miss Madariaga has been somewhat hampered by lack of access to Russian archives, she has examined a wide range of published materials and substantial manuscript materials, primarily English. She has used her sources imaginatively and critically, and she does not hesitate to show the shortcomings of earlier scholars, particularly Carl Bergbohm, the historian of the Armed Neutrality. All in all, this book is an able job. If it is sometimes bafflingly intricate, so too was Catherine's diplomacy, and it is a tribute to Miss Madariaga that she has been able to follow the tangled threads.

University of Michigan

BRADFORD PERKINS

BEYOND THE TRAGIC VISION: THE QUEST FOR IDENTITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Morse Peckham*. (New York: George Braziller. 1962. Pp. 380. \$7.50.)

THE history of eighteenth-century European thought has in our times been the subject of a number of major syntheses of enduring character; the nineteenth century has not yet been portrayed in contemporary scholarship with the broad strokes of a philosophical intelligence. Morse Peckham's book is a respectable effort in this direction, though it does not wholly answer the need for a work on the nineteenth century with the sweep and range of a Cassirer or a Paul Hazard on the eighteenth. The bewildering variety of forms of expression makes the task of grappling with the period since the Enlightenment one of enormous difficulty, but there is every reason to believe that in time the more recent period too will be fashioned into one or more patterns which then will take hold and become canonical—at least for a generation.

Peckham's introduction on the "Problems of the Historian" and Part One entitled "The End of Ancient Thinking" are too sketchy for the discussion of issues of such dimensions. The meat of the book is a long series of brief essays on indi-

vidual philosophers, poets, novelists, painters, and composers (about fifty), organized around the problem of alienation, which since the contemporary Hegelian renaissance has become the obsession of many *littérateurs* and social thinkers. The very concept of the "quest for identity" which binds this work together is, of course, also related to a current vogue in psychological studies, which, as with all "matters psychological," has overflowed into literary criticism and history.

In Peckham's view Immanuel Kant posed in metaphysical terms the basic moral question for the century that followed him; after describing brilliant attempts to cope with it by men of creative genius, the author recognizes in Nietzsche's vision "beyond tragedy" the final solution of the nineteenth-century search for a new principle of orientation. Toward the close of his work Peckham succinctly summarizes his thesis: "We have seen how it [the moral problem] arose when the Enlightenment failed to make a consistent structure of primitive Hebrew, Greek, and Christian thinking. We have seen how the collapse of the world's structure led to pure negation, and then to turning the world inside out. We have seen how the self was discovered, and a ground for value was re-established by analogy between the self and the world. This revealed the nature of the problem: What is the ground for value? We have seen how that solution created problems which destroyed it, and analogism was succeeded by transcendentalism, and how that too failed. We have seen the greater and more solid success of objectism, but how that too failed to find a ground for value and was succeeded by stylism. From the last stage of stylism, we saw, Nietzsche emerged with the answer. There is no ground to value; man joyfully creates it out of suffering and nothingness, simply in order to exist; nor does he will to exist; from that nothingness flows an incomprehensible power which sounds the midnight bell and brings him into an existence which he, and he alone, unaided, and for no reason, earthly or transcendental, redeems."

Since the thesis is always presented in terms of individual examples, the separate sections tend to vary in quality. I felt that the essays on the moral implications of the philosophies of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche were among the less felicitous, while those on the men who tried to find themselves in the organization of sound and color were the strongest presentations: the parts on Constable, Beethoven, Turner, Delacroix, Wagner, Ruskin, Gauguin, and Debussy are often brilliant. As for Peckham's reading of the literary giants, Goethe, Stendhal, and the English poets, it is, in my judgment, less nuanced than studies by other modern critics.

The writing in this book is uneven, as is the level of insight, but, when one puts down the volume, there remains a feeling of admiration for a valiant attempt to translate the psychic struggle of the towering nineteenth-century poets, painters, and composers into moral terms whose full import they themselves could not have appreciated.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

FRANK E. MANUEL

STUDIES IN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY IN
HONOUR OF G. P. GOOCH, C.H. Planned and edited by *A. O. Sarkissian*.
(New York: Barnes and Noble. 1962. Pp. xiii, 393. \$9.00.)

THE editor of this richly deserved but rather uneven and disparate *Festschrift* rightly insists that G. P. Gooch never sought or held a permanent professorship. Perhaps this freedom from the increasingly restrictive influences of the contemporary university on scholarship and teaching accounts in some measure for Gooch's extraordinary versatility. His contribution has been equally impressive in political and diplomatic history, in biography, in the history of political theory, and in historiography. *History and the Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913) is the single best example of Gooch's unmistakable originality and breadth, and of his late Victorian conceptual and methodological lineage.

Gooch is here honored by his peers throughout the Western world, but a reviewer can only touch on a few of the most suggestive pieces in this star-studded volume. It is appropriate that Arnold Toynbee should have chosen this occasion to reflect on "History by Team-Work" only to solemnly reaffirm that "for the study and writing of history, a single mind is the best instrument." In a model *analyse de texte* William Langer explodes the Ems legend which, after his fall, Bismarck himself cultivated so assiduously. Langer concludes that Bismarck's doctoring of the Ems dispatch would have been of little historical moment without the determination of Gramont and his associates to capitalize on the Hohenzollern candidacy in the interest of French diplomacy and the shaky Napoleonic regime. In an equally careful analysis based on the diplomatic reports of French ambassadors and consuls, Maurice Baumont gives a fascinating insight into contemporary reactions to the Dreyfus case throughout the world.

Pierre Renouvin takes advantage of this international platform to renew his well-founded plea that historians of the post-Gooch generation should address themselves to the underlying domestic political, economic, demographic, and ideological determinants of Franco-German relations during the armed peace, rather than to the long-run or immediate diplomatic aspects that have received such exhaustive treatment. Significantly Charles Seymour, who is of Gooch's own generation, contributes a thoughtful and nostalgic essay in which he points to the domestic political pressures inside both Germany and America that substantially contributed to the failure of the House-Bernstorff effort to bring about a general negotiated peace or a German-American accommodation between August 1914 and early 1917.

It is perhaps regrettable that even in recording their respect for an eminent historian, Felix Hirsch, Hans Rothfels, and Gerhard Ritter should write once again as self-appointed champions of the "good" Germans—Stresemann, Adenauer, all the old diplomats, and all the old generals. Rothfels and Ritter continue to exaggerate the German opposition's "western political, humanist and Christian tradition," the degree of support for this opposition among the old

elites, and the outside world's responsibility for the opposition's failure. Surely one can question their uncritical assumption that traditional conservatism without the benefit of a mass basis is viable under modern conditions of severe economic, political, and social crisis. Is it really certain that, had the Allies refused to go to Munich, Hitler would have been eliminated in 1938, and that his elimination would or could necessarily have been followed by a dismantling of Nazism's totalitarian domestic and foreign policy ideology, program, and institutions? Moreover, could Munich have been avoided and the Nazi totalitarian system have been dismantled without the timely conclusion of a diplomatic and military alliance between the Allies and Soviet Russia? Such a mutual security alliance might well have strengthened the Left throughout Europe. Would the conservative-*cum*-reactionary opposition to Hitler—both inside and outside Germany—as well as its latter-day champions have been prepared to pay this price?

Princeton University

ARNO J. MAYER

GESCHICHTE DER INTERNATIONALE. Volume I. By *Julius Braunthal*. (Hanover: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. 1961. Pp. 403.)

THIS history of the First and Second Internationals is an informed, well-written, and sympathetic retelling of a rather familiar story and is intended for the general reader rather than the specialist. The first hundred pages deal with precursors of the International Working Men's Association (1864), with particular attention to the London Corresponding Society, the Communist League, and the Society of Fraternal Democrats. The author's treatment of the stormy history of the First International contains little that is new and highlights the internecine struggles between the Proudhonists and anarchists on the one hand, and the Marxists on the other. The views of the last are adequately presented, but Proudhon's thought is summarily dealt with in two paragraphs, and Bakunin and his followers, while receiving lengthy treatment, are characterized as fanatics and conspirators. The important role of the Belgian delegations at the congresses of the First International is mentioned, but César De Paepe's crucial report on property (Brussels Congress, 1868) is not given the attention it merits even in a general survey of this sort.

The account of the fortunes of the Second International is the most valuable part of the book. Braunthal focuses attention on the central and persistent conflict between "evolutionary" and "revolutionary" tendencies within the International and on such issues as the value of the general strike as an instrument of class warfare, colonial expansion and imperialism, and the related question of the socialist stance in confronting the menace of a general European war. Here the author is concise yet specific, and he manages to place each issue within the larger context of the international socialist movement, developments within the major European socialist parties, and the ongoing development of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European industrial society. Interesting and revealing

thumbnail sketches of prominent European socialists, particularly those of Victor Adler, Eduard Bernstein, and Jean Jaurès, add a dimension of intimate reality to the accounts of the International's congresses and serve to remind the reader of the quite remarkable collection of outstanding personalities included within the fold of the ill-fated International.

The author used archival materials (especially the minutes of the General Council of the First International) housed at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam, although he relied for the most part on published materials, particularly the reports of congresses of the First and Second Internationals, the writings of leading figures within these organizations, and on secondary works by Cole, Landauer, and Stekloff in the preparation of this study. Only slight use was made of the socialist press. The author showed little familiarity with the literature in Italian on socialism and on the Internationals, while no works in Spanish, Russian, or other Eastern European languages were consulted (although the author does deal with the socialist movements in Spain, Russia, and the Balkans). The dozens of orthographic errors contained in the book indicate not only poor proofreading but also that the author was not quite at home in dealing with French materials.

City College of New York

AARON NOLAND

MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIIA V KONTSE XIX VEKA [International Relations at the End of the 19th Century]. By *F. A. Rothstein*. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences. 1960. Pp. 705.)

THIS book was published seven years after the death of its author and thirteen years after he had to give up work on the manuscript, originally conceived as a complete account of the origins of World War I. The editor does not claim that it reflects the latest research but merely that it reworks known facts into a Marxist framework.

It is in fact a careful effort to give more body to Lenin's theory that "imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism" was the cause of the outbreak of war in 1914. Viewing the conflict as principally one between England and Germany, in which the other powers played only secondary roles, Rothstein dismisses the idea that colonial rivalries in themselves had any significance or that commercial competition was of any great importance. The war, he emphasizes, was not a repetition of England's earlier struggles against Spain, Holland, and France, which had reflected the conditions of "the epoch of the primary accumulation of capital." By the end of the nineteenth century, as he sees it, the triumph of "finance capital" over "industrial capital," the rise of monopolies controlled by banks, and the consequent struggle over foreign investments had become decisive. Following Lenin, Rothstein emphasizes the special role of Germany in this historic process.

He does not, however, share Lenin's lurking admiration for Germany. Al-

though he accepts Lenin's dictum that "in respect to the conversion of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism" prewar Germany held first place in the world, he expresses no satisfaction in the thought that Germany was thus leading the way toward world revolution. His detailed account of diplomatic and colonial embroilments from 1870 to 1900 is suffused with a deep animus toward Germany. Its roots lie not wholly in World War II. It is evident that the years from 1891, when the twenty-year-old Rothstein fled to London, to 1920, when the British government refused to allow his return from what was meant to be a brief visit to Russia, were the happiest of his life. So strong was the favorable impression that his place of exile made on him that the editor in his preface finds it necessary to take him to task for his over kindly attitude toward British opposition to the expansion of tsarist Russia. Rothstein failed to realize that "objectively" tsarist policy brought great benefits, particularly in Central Asia and in the Balkans. The editor also finds it necessary to criticize Rothstein for his almost total neglect of America's role in the growth of "imperialism."

In applying Lenin's thesis of "imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism," Rothstein gives great attention to the economic development of the major countries of Europe, but he does not succeed in relating the chapters on economics to his detailed account of diplomacy, which centers largely on colonial disputes. In what respect interest in colonies after 1895 differed from interest in them in the 1880's is not clear; nor does the emphasis on Germany as the country that served as the model for the growth of monopoly capitalism illuminate the reasons why German interest in imperial acquisitions was so much more fitful than that of Great Britain and France, or even of Russia.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVISIONISTS: A STUDY OF "LEGAL MARXISM" IN RUSSIA. By *Richard Kindersley*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 260. \$6.10.)

REVISIONISM: ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF MARXIST IDEAS. Edited by *Leopold Labedz*. [Library of International Studies, Volume I; Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 102.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 404. \$7.95.)

In one respect Kindersley and the twenty-seven contributors to Labedz' collection are remarkably consistent. They never use revisionism to mean authorized revision of Marxist doctrine. For example, though Marx and Engels occasionally granted the possibility of peaceful evolution to socialism, Lenin and Stalin were not revisionists for flatly excluding it, nor is Khrushchev for vaguely readmitting it. Revisionists are those who admitted the possibility when the chief ruled it out, or rule it out now that the chief admits it. Revisionism, in other words, is dissent; orthodoxy is obedience. Of course, the usual questions must be faced:

obedience and dissent in what degree and manner, to or from what principles, what chiefs? The various authors reveal three basically different responses to these questions. Kindersley seems to share the usual orthodox view that a Marxist (other than the chief) is rejecting his system the moment he begins to criticize it. Certainly this was the case with the Legal Marxists, a group of Russian authors who moved very quickly from criticism to rejection in the 1890's. With admirable clarity Kindersley analyzes the writings of Struve, Tugan-Baranovskii, Bulgakov, Berdyaev, and S. L. Frank, showing how their critical spirit took them from Marxism to political liberalism and philosophical idealism. Unlike A. P. Mendel, whose recent *Dilemmas of Progress in Tsarist Russia* turned this modest subject into a pretentious sermon on the world's woes, Kindersley sticks to the intellectual development of the Legal Marxists in the 1890's and does a more thorough job of textual analysis. (On the other hand, Mendel provides extra interest by comparing the Legal Marxists with the Legal Populists.) The only extraintellectual factor that Kindersley treats at any length is censorship. Occasionally he looks up from his close reading of the Legal Marxists' works to wonder why they doomed themselves to political futility by becoming liberals and idealists. They shared the Western love of sweetness and light, he decides, which could win out in the West, in Germany, say, but were too good for retrograde Russia. One could more reasonably guess, partly on the evidence of such Western smugness, that blinding self-righteousness has been the winning quality in European civilization, the Russian variant included.

Probably most of the contributors to Labedz' collection share Kindersley's simple conviction that Marxism and the critical spirit are totally incompatible; when the Marxist begins to criticize, he ceases to be a Marxist. Watnick, however, suggests more complex possibilities when he describes his revisionist (George Lukacs) as "a mind beset by the logic of its own commitment." Duvignaud gets at the same complexity when he repeats the argument, constantly beaten down, but never totally destroyed within the Marxist movement, that the sincerest tribute one can pay to Marx is to be radically critical of everything, including Marx's own system. And a few other contributors sense that revisionism is a "self-generating" feature of Marxism, continually revived by a succession of brave partisans from Bogdanov to Kolakowski, who agree with the chiefs of orthodoxy that Marxism must be "creatively developed further," but will not leave the job to the chiefs. In this sense revisionists are people who will neither quit the movement nor quit criticizing it. They are often, as Labedz points out in his introduction, the unacknowledged authors of the movement's vital adaptations to changing circumstances. What is more, they keep the issue of free thought alive by continual challenges to the chiefs' claim of omniscient authority.

If that claim is granted, a third view of the revisionist emerges: anyone subjected to official criticism, even if he and his ideas were official the day before. This view seems quite Pickwickian or Orwellian, yet it has a mad logic in some cases. Plekhanov, for example, would be outraged to find a study of himself in a

volume on revisionism, but he might be mollified by Sam Baron's argument that he adhered more closely than Lenin to Marx's original system. On that basis, Kautsky and a number of other orthodox stalwarts would no doubt demand a place in the volume. But on that same basis it seems quite unfair to include Bukharin and Deborin. When they were chiefs of orthodoxy, they wielded the official ax with great vigor; when they were ordered to surrender the ax and lay their own works on the block, they dutifully complied. To cap the irony, the authors who treat them here show no sense of incongruity, while Lukacs, who came close to Thomas More's style of submissive dissent, is scoffed at as a revisionist in spite of himself.

A fourth understanding of revisionism, as criticism of Marxism from without, should have been ruled out. Fetscher's essay, for example, on the criticism of Marxism by West German Christians, is quite interesting, but hardly belongs in this survey of dissent and heresy within the Marxist movement.

On the whole the survey that Labedz has assembled is very informative. No one can be already aware of all that is offered here. The reader who finds the opening essay on Bernstein banal—and banal it will be to anyone with even a slight knowledge of the subject—will probably learn much from the closing essays on Japanese and Indian socialism, and from many of those between, which give a comprehensive picture of revisionism in Europe and the United States. Of course, not even the collective is omniscient. China and Latin America are entirely neglected, and I keenly missed a critical biography of Kolakowski, probably the most interesting Marxist author in the world today.

Brown University

DAVID JORAVSKY

Ancient and Medieval

GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE: MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER GEISTESGESCHICHTLICHEN UND KULTURMORPHOLOGISCHEN ZUSAMMENHÄNGE. By *Fritz Schachermeyr*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1960. Pp. 470, 44 plates. DM 36.)

THIS thoughtful and stimulating book will appeal primarily to scholars with considerable knowledge of the subject. It is too philosophical and dogmatic to serve as an introduction for beginners and too devoid of bibliographical information to serve as a guide to the present status of controversial problems. It is not even primarily a history of Greece but rather a study of the pattern of Greek history in relation to the pattern of world history. The author complains that historians have not studied sufficiently the "inner forces" of history and that such exponents of world history as Spengler and Toynbee have tended to take as model and give general validity to a pattern familiar to them-

selves. Instead the patterns of particular branches of history should be established completely independently, and these later made the subject of a comparative study. Consequently, though the author's history proper, which ends on page 389, teems with interpretations and comparisons, it is followed by an appendix entitled "Versuch einer Theorie zur griechischen Geschichte." The course of development so traced is unique and cannot serve as a model for the study of other civilizations.

In the historical account Schachermeyr traces the course of civilization in Greece from the Stone Age to the decline of Rome. This is the careful work of a meticulous scholar who will have the respect of his readers even when they disagree with him. Since he holds that great cultural advances come when the time is ripe, but are due to individual geniuses, he gives much credit to great men, Homer, Archilochus, Pericles, and so forth. Thus, a new era began at Thebes with the appearance of "ein Ingenium ganz grossen Stils," namely, Epaminondas. In fact, the short-lived prominence not only of Thebes but also of Arcadia, Phocis, and Thessaly in the fourth century was owing to outstanding leaders. In the light of this it is not surprising to find Alexander of Macedon presented as the greatest creative personality ever produced by mankind. Such unguarded uses of superlatives are to be regretted, so also are positive statements on disputed points, such as that the Mycenaeans used papyrus for other kinds of writing than that found on the clay tablets and that the introduction of the use of lot for the selection of Athenian archons was owing to Themistocles. This may be correct, but it looks as if the conclusion were based more on the author's interpretation of the role of great men, Themistocles in particular, than on any direct evidence. Outright mistakes, such as that Mardonius wintered in Macedonia instead of Thessaly, are few. Mistaken, though, is the statement that Rome realized the ideal of world empire—a statement later contradicted by the observation that Rome protected the Mediterranean fringe against Parthians, Persians, and Arabs. Yet, as a whole, there is more to applaud than to criticize.

Concerning the theories of history involved, enough has already been said to indicate that Schachermeyr gives no support to those who look for extreme determinism and universally valid laws of history. History repeats itself, but the repetitions are not identical. Thus there is not one revolution but a number of individual revolutions each with its own peculiarities. There is also room for chance and choice. Under similar conditions Rome chose to be liberal with grants of citizenship; Athens chose to be exclusive. In general, declines so far have been followed by the development of new high civilizations, and these in some respects have advanced beyond their predecessors, as Hellenic civilization advanced beyond Minoan and modern Occidental civilization beyond the Hellenic, but there is no guarantee that every such new civilization will mark an advance. This hesitation to accept a naïve theory of progress must be applauded.

University of Missouri

J. A. O. LARSEN

DIE ENTSTEHUNG EUROPAS VON DER SPÄTANTIKE ZUM MITTELALTER. Volume II, DIE ANFÄNGE DER ABENDLÄNDISCHEN WELT. By *Heinrich Dannenbauer*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1962. Pp. vi, 340. DM 29.)

THE death of Professor Dannenbauer in March 1961 unfortunately left this volume incomplete. He had no opportunity to revise the eighth and ninth chapters; there were references and comments for only the first five; and the proposed treatment of the ninth century remained to be done. Still the editor and the publisher, apparently judging the work truly representative of the noted German historian's views and scholarship, decided to bring out the unfinished volume without major alteration. These facts are taken into consideration in this review, which is concerned chiefly with the finished parts of Volume II.

It will be remembered that Dannenbauer wrote this book primarily for his former students and other educated laymen, rather than for professional historians [see review of Volume I, *AHR*, LXVI (Oct. 1960), 115]. For that reason he has again omitted most of the usual scholarly apparatus: there are no bibliography, no index, no maps; the notes are few and uneven, just as they were in Volume I. Yet Gerhard Baaken, the editor of the volume, refers, strangely it seems to me, to *Die Entstehung Europas* as Dannenbauer's chief work.

It is disturbing to find the author of an intentionally general treatment presenting dogmatic views on controversial subjects without offering substantial critical support. The general reader can only be confused, if not misled, by such mysteries as the amazing dismissal, in a few curt words, of St. Benedict of Nursia as "the most famous representative" of a kind of monasticism decidedly inferior to that of Cassiodorus. Such a pronouncement requires careful explanation. Throughout, the author fails to consider the position of the Church and its servants in the midst of powerful currents of change. To him theology is almost an epithet, and monks became willfully anti-intellectual. I demur also at Dannenbauer's predilection for the cataclysmic interpretation, that is, the presentation of the period of Europe's beginning as a hopeless descent into the darkness of a world in every respect declining from its former grandeur. The public for which Dannenbauer wrote can learn much from his last work, as "technical" history, especially concerning political and institutional matters. This same public will, however, learn little of the spiritual and aesthetic aspirations and achievements of early medieval men and virtually nothing of the more recent historical interpretations of the period.

Stanford University

WILLIAM BARK

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE: A REVISED TRANSLATION.
Edited by *Dorothy Whitelock*, with *David C. Douglas* and *Susie I. Tucker*.

(New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. xxxii, 240. \$9.00.)

THIS is the "whole Chronicle" in modern English, inside two covers. For each year all versions are printed in clearly separated parallel blocks or columns or have their main peculiarities indicated in notes at the foot of that page. Many relevant passages from other sources are as easily seen as are names of persons and places. The carefully complete index and eighteen genealogical tables are welcome. Index and notes are basically those of Plummer, condensed and revised. Texts, notes (except for a little retouching), and format are those already offered by Professor Whitelock (up to 1042) and Miss Tucker (1043-1154) in *English Historical Documents* [see reviews, *AHR*, LX (July 1955), 874; LIX (Oct. 1953), 89]. The scheme of that series imposed the break into two parts; uniting them amply justifies this reprinting. In addition the select bibliography is polished a bit and covers six more years. Finally, the *EHD* prefatory study of the Chronicle, a masterpiece in mid-century Anglo-Saxon studies, has been considerably recast by the scholar uniquely qualified to do it.

A modest challenge on a point of interest to students of medieval "science": "English and British and Welsh and Scythish and Pictish and Book Latin" (in the condensed and "revised" Bede, I, 1 of p. 5) is the reading given by the weight of manuscript evidence. This is common tenth- to eleventh-century ethnogeographical "science"; I suggest "Book Latin," as sixth language, is intended to be separated by "Book" from the five folk tongues. So it is also in *Brunanburh* (p. 69), "many a Scythish [man], weary. . .," as all manuscripts have it.

Large type, wide margins, generous spacing, and clear signposts fashion this translation quite as much for the curious reader and the course reading list as for the professional's library.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT L. REYNOLDS

CURIA REGIS ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Printed under the Superintendence of the Keeper of Public Records. Volume XIV, 14 to 17 HENRY III (1230-1232). (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1961. Pp. xix, 684. \$40.00 postpaid.)

FROM 1924 onward a succession of learned reviews by Sir Maurice Powicke informed readers of the *English Historical Review* of the value and progress of this edition of the *Curia Regis* rolls, but readers of the *American Historical Review* had to wait for notice of it until Volume VII appeared in 1935, and none of the subsequent volumes has been reviewed in this journal. In these circumstances I hope I may be forgiven some general remarks on the whole series.

The printing of the *Curia Regis* rolls is one of the most important record publication projects of this century. Unlike the close and patent rolls, which are

calendared or summarized in English, the *Curia Regis* rolls have been printed *in extenso* in the original Latin by the Public Record Office. These rolls contain a record of judicial proceedings in the king's court, either before the king himself, or before the justices of the bench at Westminster. They begin in Richard I's time, and the first thirteen volumes of this series print the surviving rolls from then until 1230, apart from those already printed by the Record Commissioners in 1835 and in Volumes XIV and XXIV of the Pipe Roll Society's publications. Volume XIV of the *Curia Regis* rolls prints the pleas at Westminster between Trinity term 14 Henry III and Michaelmas term 17 Henry III; namely, from June 1230 to November 1232. More volumes are on the way, and all those so far published remain in print, many at a quarter the price of Volume XIV. There is an admirable *Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls, 1199-1230 A.D.*, by Sir Cyril Flower, published in 1944 by the Selden Society.

Every major historical and legal library should have this work. Its value is much enhanced by the detailed subject indexes, which are arranged in the same way and under the same headings throughout the series. The legal historian can study here the development of English law, particularly in civil proceedings, from the very rolls used by Bracton and excerpted in the Notebook. Actions concerning land, including many examples of the grand assize and the possessory assizes, easily outnumber the others, but there are also pleas relating to tenures and services, churches, minors, debts, and so forth, including a dispute as to whether or not a tenant owed his lord an annual Christmas dinner, and a quarrel at High Wycombe over the collection of dung. There is much information about the shire and hundred courts, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, juries, writs, and so on, but the interest of the *Curia Regis* rolls is by no means purely legal. Historical events are mentioned; the social and economic historian will find much to interest him; there are pedigrees for the genealogist and place names for the topographer or philologist. Throughout the editing is of the highest standard.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

RICHARD VAUGHAN

HANSISCHE STUDIEN: HEINRICH SPROEMBERG ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by *Gerhard Heitz* and *Manfred Unger*. [Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, Number 8.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1961. Pp. viii, 462. DM 38.)

Hansische Studien is a seventieth birthday present to Heinrich Sproemberg, president of the Society for Hanseatic Study in East Germany. This organization, which includes all interested in every aspect of Hanseatic history, has existed for five years. A note on the cover describes it as "the offshoot of the Institute of the D.D.R. which here presents its achievements and shows already the framework of an urgently needed Marxist presentation of Hanseatic history." The twenty-

nine articles by twenty-eight scholars of fourteen universities from Paris to Moscow are for the most part orthodox in their interpretations.

Five articles are not concerned with Hanseatic history. Eckhard Müller-Merhens studies the position of Berlin in the fourteenth-century contest for the imperial throne and its influence on the growth of a national monarchy. Using population figures of small country towns in Mecklenburg, Gerhard Heitz emphasizes the importance of the somewhat neglected small towns, especially in East Germany where relations between town and country are rapidly changing. Walter Markov describes the rise and fall of the short-lived Trieste East India Company. From German state documents, Manfred Kossok traces the Prussian share in the Spanish-American linen trade in the eighteenth century. Johannes Kalisch, using Polish and Russian sources, describes Polish trade with Armenia and Persia in the seventeenth century. Marian Biskup studies Polish-Prussian trade in the fifteenth century.

Two articles emphasize the importance of archaeology as a source for the history of commerce in early times: Jan Brankack's study of West Slav commerce from the ninth to the twelfth century and Benedykt Widera's reconstruction of trade between Novgorod and Siberia.

Of a practical nature are Klaus Friedland's discussion of new methods in publishing Hanseatic records and Rudi Ogrisek's analysis of methods of making and printing maps. Elizabeth Schnitzler discusses documents pertaining to Hanseatic universities, and Karl Höhnelt, the Mecklenburg archives. In his article on the fur trade Rudolph Leskinov gives a useful analysis of the names of furs.

In a second article, Leskinov, using Lübeck trade books and merchants' correspondence, attempts to trace commercial transactions from their beginning to their end. Pierre Jeannin treats the commerce of Lübeck in the fifteenth century, and Konrad Fritze explains its solvency during the wars and popular uprisings in the same century. Civic strife and the rise of capitalism interest other authors. From a new angle Peter Kirchberg treats Hanseatic relations with Norwegian fishermen, which contained the seeds of capitalism. Karl Czok applies Marxist standards to explain the fourteenth-century uprising in Brunswick. Eva Gutz describes uprisings in Brunswick against the Wulfflam family.

Two articles on the social structure of Rostock, another on the origin of capital in the hands of citizens of Danzig, one on the trade connections of Pomerania and Norway in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, an appraisal of the importance of Erfurt as a market at the crossroads between east and west, and a description of the making of salt and of the building of freighters in Rügen complete the collection.

Also included is a bibliography of Sproemberg's works. The book will be interesting and useful to economic, social, and Hanseatic historians, especially for the articles using Polish and Russian sources not generally available.

Wynnewood, Pennsylvania

ALICE BEARDWOOD

Modern Europe

THOMAS CRANMER. By *Jasper Ridley*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 450. \$5.60.)

Of all the figures of the sixteenth century, Thomas Cranmer remains the most elusive, yet strangely the most comprehensible. Henry VIII was more obvious, Mary more stalwart, Elizabeth more perceptive, Cromwell more ruthless, and Cecil more cunning, but none were as human or as important to the events that shaped the Protestant mind and spirit. The archbishop's latest biographer wisely commences his narrative with the statement that "Few characters in history have aroused as much controversy as Thomas Cranmer." The core of the controversy lies in the fact that Cranmer was a gifted but essentially ordinary man who found himself in the midst of an extraordinary situation. It is difficult to wax vehement over saints and devils since both are generally devoid of humanity, but like Peter, Cranmer was tragically human when he momentarily forsook his God. Caught between the fiery fate of a heretic and the burning conviction of his faith, he weaseled, recanted, rerecanted, and ultimately played the man and died the martyr, but, it must be sadly noted, he did so only after he had learned that his life could not be saved by further compromise. Of Cranmer, Protestant and Catholic, secular and religious, modern and contemporary can say, "Except for the grace of time and circumstance, there go I."

Mr. Ridley has written an orthodox, scholarly, sanely partisan, and in places original account of the archbishop, but the wonderful picture that in rare moments emerges from 411 pages of closely packed political and narrative detail indicates more the extraordinary pervasiveness and resilience of Cranmer's personality than his biographer's artistry. The crisis of Cranmer's life was the moment when, aged fifty-seven, he denied a lifetime of belief and gave up his faith in the Real Presence. For a decade he had burned and persecuted Sacramentarians, and his conversion came when orthodoxy was in the ascendancy. Ridley acknowledges the transformation, which was largely the work of Nicholas Ridley, to be "an extraordinary feat," but he divests the scene of drama by concluding that "it was one of those periods when, for no apparent reason, men are suddenly converted by the same arguments to which they have been impervious for so long." If the archbishop was filled with the inner light of conversion, the flame has died for lack of artistic oxygen.

The key offered to the prelate's character and career and the one that presumably unlocks every secret of his not always admirable life is the doctrine of Erastianism: "The word of God is, to obey the King." The inconsistencies, the compromises, and the reversals are all to be explained not so much as stemming from a basic failure of character as from a sense of duty to a king who, by the very logic of the argument, is presented as monstrously inhuman and satanic. The thesis is rather too favorable to the prelate and far too hard on bluff King Hal.

Whether Cranmer is more real as a consistent and dutiful Protestant hero or as a wavering, fearful Catholic villain is debatable, but whatever the failings of this most recent effort to make windows into the archbishop's soul, the biography is readable and sensible, and it is refreshing to find footnotes at the bottom of the page in a scholarly book such as this.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

SIR WALTER RALEGH: HIS FAMILY AND PRIVATE LIFE. By *A. L. Rowse*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Pp. xi, 348. \$6.95.)

A. L. Rowse's latest book is not another life of Raleigh; it is rather a new interpretation of his private life and character, the immediate occasion for it being the happy discovery of the diary of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, whose sister Bess, maid of honor to Queen Elizabeth, became the object of Raleigh's too ardent affection and, as a consequence, of the Virgin Queen's wrath. The diary brings some new facts to light: that there was a secret marriage, that the child was named Damerei, and most surprisingly that Raleigh's enemy at court, the star-crossed Essex, stood as godfather at the christening. But it is not, and could hardly be expected to be, a major contribution to our knowledge of the Shepherd of the Ocean. Its use for Rowse is to provide a convenient base from which to reappraise the principals in the affair against a broad background of historical materials that are always at his easy and competent command. Bess, the cause of all the trouble, whose reputation has rested in part on Aubrey's raw jest, is now revealed as the faithful wife. No more than her indiscreet husband did she recover from that first indiscretion; yet, throughout, her heart apparently remained subdued even to the very quality of her lord. "We are true within ourselves, I can assure you," she wrote from the Tower directly after their incarceration, and they offered no apology to the Queen, who doubtless expected one.

It was Raleigh's first disgrace, and for a lesser man it might have meant the end of his public career. But the handsome captain of Her Majesty's Guard, aided by boldness and Devonshire charm, exhibited a remarkable resiliency, sufficient to survive this and other severer vicissitudes. His last gamble, release from prison to bring back the gold he claimed to have seen in Guiana, eventually led to the block, but it was the gesture of a habitual actor unwilling to surrender his role even though he knew that the script ended in death.

Here Rowse follows the familiar outlines of the literary biographers, but sharpens them. Unquestionably, Raleigh's capacity for making enemies consistently outpaced his ability to make friends. But Rowse sees under the bold exterior an essential instability, which, measured against such a steady organizer of facts into columns as William Cecil, makes understandable Elizabeth's unwillingness to admit him into her council. The public scorn of the young aristocrat Essex was gall to him. It is not easy to be called an upstart and a knave, however obvious the royal demonstrations of favor. Furthermore, his strength under Elizabeth

became his weakness under James. The financial disaster of the voyage to Guiana, harebrained from the beginning, not only accented the bankruptcy of his hatred of Spain, but laid him open to the old charges of treason from which he had earlier vindicated himself but for which he was now to pay with his head.

Yet Rowse never completely resolves the ambivalence of Raleigh's character: on the one hand, his wholly admirable public stance (defense of the Sectaries, opposition to compulsory church attendance and to a tax law unjust to the poor); and on the other hand, his admitted indulgence in petty political chicanery. (Rowse takes up the not always reliable Aubrey's ingenious report that Raleigh joined Lord Cobham's plot in order to gain James's favor by exposing it.)

Belying the title, much of the book deals with the Throckmortons, chiefly with the diarist himself—at court, abroad, and in Northamptonshire, through the years of his increasing affluence. He manages his properties, watches over his children, indulges his taste for books and health remedies, and in proper time, through his sister's marriage, assumes a role in Raleigh's story. Like most diarists, he unfortunately writes for himself, not for historians, who would willingly be spared the specifics of his ailments in exchange for the authors and titles of the plays he liked. A diary covering the years 1578–1595 and 1609–1613 promises much, but Throckmorton was dull, to be truthful, and we may be thankful that a person so suave and indefatigable as Rowse made it a readable public record.

University of Maryland

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

JACOBAN PAGEANT: OR THE COURT OF KING JAMES I. By G. P. V.

Akrigg. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 431. \$7.75.)

WHATEVER else, Whig historiography has provided a generation of historians with a point of attack. If no other scholar has matched Namier's bombing of the citadel, many have shelled peripheral fortresses. Mr. Akrigg to be sure does not stop with this, but among other purposes he has sought to rid the Jacobean landscape of some Whiggish bastions.

To classify this achievement, half topical, half chronological, by a professor of literature, is not easy. The title fits, and though many a historian, even a Stuart historian, will find miniatures to ornament his lectures—on the day James entered London the water conduits ran with claret—the readers most likely to benefit are students of literature seeking background. On the whole the book is sensible, begun with a prologue, the great Queen's death, and ended with an epilogue, James's place in history. Between, thirty chapters, none too long, a few too short, describe the accession, the court, the "hungry Scots," foreign affairs, "treason and plot," finances (chiefly their lack), councilors, courtiers, favorites, manners and "immorals," order and disorder, clergy, architecture, Bacon, Parliament, the Spanish marriage fiasco, and death. Almost from the beginning James was ridiculous; even after death he who was often slandered as Rizzio's son was sped on his way

by the text, "And Solomon slept with his fathers and was buried in the city of David his father," and unceremoniously thrust into another man's sepulchre. The author does not flutter over James's homosexuality, but is content to label him a complicated neurotic.

Nevertheless, Akrigg does excite dissent. He assigns greater capacities to Buckingham, and even Somerset, and rather less character to Bacon, than most historians, who would indeed deny that the evidence here presented warrants the attribution to Buckingham of "a certain talent for government and administration." Nor would these historians be altogether comfortable with the assertion that James "strove to advance deserving men" and on the whole chose his chief officers well: Somerset, Buckingham, Bacon (as portrayed). Cecil was a legacy; Cranfield was thrown to the Villiers. On another subject, James's indulgence in sweet wine does not account for his gout which in any case was arthritis. Trifling but confusing is the sudden metamorphosis of Sarmiento into Gondomar halfway through the account of that slicker. Though the chapter on Prince Henry makes good sense, the author might have spared us his sententious last paragraph with its banal conclusion, "Fine and admirable as he was in so many ways it may have been for the best that he never came to the throne." Best for whom? Well, not for Charles I at any rate. By contrast, the chapters on Inigo Jones inspire regret that the author did not enlarge this aspect of the Jacobean pageant, where he seems more at home than in political, financial, and social matters. Perhaps he felt that he could utter only commonplaces in cultural areas; as it is he escapes the pedestrian in political and economic topics by excessive quotation.

One final point. Historians like to know about, if they cannot know, all that has been written on a subject. Here Akrigg is most austere: for instance he cites David Willson's biography of James but once, in Chapter xxvii, and only for a document.

University of Wisconsin

CHARLES F. MULLETT

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND, 1787-1833. By *Ursula Henriques*.

[Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 294. \$5.00.)

NONCONFORMITY IN EXETER, 1650-1875. By *Allan Brockett*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the University of Exeter. 1962. Pp. vii, 252. 30s.)

DR. Henriques' book is primarily a study of thought and opinion. She first traces the growth of the theory of toleration ("a name of convenience for the collection of varied arguments") from the times of Milton and Locke to that of the "Rational Dissenters" such as Joseph Priestley, Richard Price, and Robert Robinson. She examines the differences and similarities between the radicals' ideas on church and state and those of the reforming Whigs, based chiefly on War-

burton. She likewise explains the position of moderate politicians like Pitt, of conservatives like Blackstone, and of the High-Church divines. Making use of a wealth of contemporary writings, she analyzes the whole spectrum of arguments from reactionary to radical, showing the interplay of creative thought, prejudice, and expediency that shaped the opinions of individuals and groups. Her aim is too ambitious to permit adequate treatment of every shade of opinion, but careful reading clarifies most points. She wisely devotes an entire, and very enlightening, chapter to Burke.

Nearly half of the book is concerned with the struggle to repeal the Test Acts, which culminated in three successive defeats between 1787 and 1790. It was during this period that the significant ideas on toleration took form. Later arguments came to be determined more by politics and prejudice. While the French Revolution led to an eclipse of the repeal movement, it brought the Roman Catholic question to the fore. Here specific factors such as Irish nationalism and England's relations with the papacy were more important than underlying theories of toleration. Finally, in 1829, Wellington accepted Catholic Emancipation to avoid revolution. Dr. Henriques sees the previous repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts as largely a by-product of the Emancipation struggle. Unfortunately here, as elsewhere, she deals too briefly with parliamentary politics.

Although political expediency may have been the chief cause for the legislation of 1828-1829, Dr. Henriques shows that since 1787 there had been a marked change in the attitudes of the upper and middle classes toward toleration. Evidence of this is found in the movement to grant full legal and political rights to Jews, on which Dr. Henriques has an excellent chapter. Radical ideas, so widely suspect during the French Revolution, won increasing acceptance after 1815. They also underwent a change as utilitarian arguments engulfed the older appeal to natural rights. Despite the growth of utilitarian influence, however, the materialism of the Benthamites still shocked many reforming groups, especially the Clapham sect. The struggle of the deists and atheists, "the infidels," for free expression made little headway. By the 1830's, nevertheless, full toleration of religious minorities was virtually assured. A new secular concept of the state had swept aside the old ideal of Hooker's ecclesiastical polity. Even the Oxford movement could not stem the tide.

Nonconformity in Exeter is of more limited interest than Dr. Henriques' book, but, since the author relates local to national events, the study serves as an illustration of the actual condition of the Dissenters. Drawing on municipal and court records, local and London church records, memoirs, and correspondence, Brockett traces in detail the various Nonconformist congregations. In Exeter the Puritans were strong but divided during the interregnum. During the persecutions the two groups drew together and continued to cooperate well past 1688. With toleration came growth and prosperity until over a fourth of the population were Nonconformists in 1715. But freedom brought dissension. A dispute over the Trinity split the Presbyterians, a majority eventually becoming Unitarians while

some of the more prosperous returned to the Church of England. The smaller Baptist group was likewise plagued by divisions. Then came the Methodist movement which cut into all of the older groups, although its influence often strengthened their religious life. In the nineteenth century the Tractarian movement alarmed many of the Exeter Anglicans and caused the temporary appearance of a Free Church of England congregation.

Despite the strength of the Methodists, the total proportion of Nonconformists in Exeter was slightly smaller in 1851 than in 1715, in part because of the proliferation that seems to characterize Protestant dissent. The many names and figures in Brockett's pages make for difficult reading, but they also make the book informative. Where possible the author brings in evidence on the social and economic status of the Nonconformists. His treatment of the different groups appears to be both accurate and objective.

Tulane University

FRANCIS G. JAMES

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH STEEL INDUSTRY. By *J. C. Carr* and *W. Taplin*. Assisted by *A. E. G. Wright*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 632. \$11.00.)

COMPLETING in a useful and satisfying way a chronicle of nearly 2,500 years of iron- and steelmaking in the British Isles begun by other historians, this volume records the century of British steelmaking since Bessemer's first patents for his converter in 1856, thus neatly complementing T. S. Ashton's *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution* (rev. ed., 1951) and Hans Schubert's *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry from 450 B.C. to A.D. 1775* (1957).

Readers of those two volumes and of the numerous general histories and excellent monographs written since the 1880's on British iron and steel will be delighted to have in one compendious source book the record of Britain's transition from iron to steel and from absolute industrial pre-eminence in the world to second place as an industrial nation. They will see the inventions of Bessemer, Siemens, and Thomas in the mass production of steel supplement those of Darby and Cort in the mass production of iron. They will find fully documented, through numerous references to company histories, the vicissitudes of entrepreneurship during the first fertile period of invention before 1875 and the later adaptation of the British industry to the competition of the United States and Germany, the coming industrial powers. They will be treated to a meticulous presentation, period by period, of the history of technical change in steel manufacture (or absence thereof), the application of systematic research, the impact of changing domestic and foreign markets, industrial cooperation, growing unionism, and the increasing intervention of government as a result of two wars and Britain's decline in vitality.

It is a fascinating tale told here, of a national industry that quickly became international and was eclipsed by its competitors. There is a lesson for other

countries in the complacency that seized the captains of British steelmaking in the 1880's, lost them their technical leadership by 1900, and helped quietly to undermine British world leadership well before 1914. In the mad pace of world industrialization, chronicled by Carr and Taplin, entrepreneurial and technical vitality seems as difficult for many older nations to maintain as it is for many of the newer ones to acquire. The British steel industry is a happy example of an industry that regained its vitality, if not its world leadership. The men and forces that brought about its rise and decline and rise again are the essential heroes of this book.

The straightforward compiling of detail, historical phase by historical phase, is the strength as well as the chief weakness of this work. Toward page 250 (there are 605 pages of text) one begins to find it difficult to wade through the changing fates of so many individuals and companies, particularly in view of the complete absence of maps or a glossary of companies (serious defects). The numerous statistical tables are excellent for reference, but make for difficult reading and add to the feeling that detail is sometimes extraneous. The study needs most, perhaps, some unifying interpretive themes or at least a set of conclusions. It might also profitably round out the century since 1856, might go beyond 1939, an artificial cutoff date, to some of the problems of threatened postwar nationalization of the steel industry and the recent advent of the European Common Market. Withal it is a good book, in the great tradition of the older British and German chronicles of the history of iron.

Tehran, Iran

THEODORE A. WERTIME

THE MAKING OF VICTORIAN ENGLAND: BEING THE FORD LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. By *G. Kitson Clark*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 312. \$5.50.)

THIS important work appears at a critical point in the revision of Victorian history. A demythologizing and degeneralizing process of analysis, employing refined techniques especially in the use of statistics, is under way. In political history, it has shattered the stereotypes of parties and classes and has emphasized instead the unpatterned variations of individual and factional dealings. The result of this revision, and of others in social and economic history, has been largely to dissolve traditional interpretations and to make the history of Victorian England almost unbearably complex; the work of reconstruction is only now being attempted. Dr. Kitson Clark's book is therefore opportune: he attempts to sum up the work of revision, as far as it has proceeded, and to guide the course both of further revision and of reconstruction. He is eminently qualified for this task: as reader in constitutional history at Cambridge, he has a wide acquaintance with the workers and the work in this field, including manuscript dissertations and books still unpublished. The Ford Lectures at Oxford in 1960 provided him

with this opportunity to examine the forces that went into the making of Victorian England; the present book is a revised version of the lectures.

His first chapter is virtually a manifesto of revisionism. "The old bland confident general statements about whole groups of men, or classes, or nations ought to disappear from history." We must appeal to the contemporary documents and to statistics. As an example of the latter, Kitson Clark includes a useful appendix on the business interests of the gentry by Professor W. O. Aydelotte of the State University of Iowa (which he inevitably confuses with Iowa State University). If such analysis leads to a "historical nominalism with innumerable accidentals and no universals," he is prepared to accept that result.

Kitson Clark does not, however, think reconstruction impossible. He tends to reduce political and economic history to social history, and on this basis he constructs a model for new generalizations. The England of 1850, he finds, still bore, in its social and political life, the impress of the eighteenth century. Two "blind forces" were making irresistibly for change: the increase of population and the Industrial Revolution. There were also conscious agencies of change: the political decline of the aristocracy and rise of new classes, and the revival of religion (of which a valuable study is given). Neither aristocratic paternalism nor laissez faire nor religious zeal proved sufficient to cope with the pressures of population and poverty; the necessary social discipline had to be imposed by the coercive power of the state. As of the end of the century, this lesson had only partially been learned, and the forces resistant to change were still strong.

Victorian England was made by the interplay of "blind forces" and conscious effort. Kitson Clark gives us a masterly study of this process.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

Erratum: In the review of *Religious History of Modern France* by Adrien Dansette [*AHR*, LXVIII (Oct. 1962), 121-22], the first sentence on page 122 should read: "The Church was left in the nineteenth century with four major problems: its reconstruction and reorganization, its relations with the political forces on the Right, its philosophical position, and its alienation of the working class."

THE FRENCH IN GERMANY, 1945-1949. By *F. Roy Willis*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Number 23.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 308. \$6.00.)

WILLIS begins this history with a careful analysis of the origins of the French occupation zone in the tangled Great-Power diplomacy of the latter part of the war and the original motives of the French occupiers. Skillfully relating internal French political developments and changes in the international scene to his theme, he examines the evolution of general French policy toward the "German problem" from 1945 to 1949. He then focuses on the institutions of the occupation and the specific measures carried out. Willis does not attempt to minimize the harsh fea-

tures of the early years. But he clearly illustrates how, as France's security and economic well-being came to be guaranteed within a larger international setting after 1946, the ideas of intra-European cooperation and rapprochement with the former enemy assumed the ascendancy. Policies in the areas of de-Nazification, education, and cultural affairs tempered and "humanized" an occupation that was subjected to close scrutiny and severe criticism by French civilian groups from the beginning. A vigorous political life, led by independent-minded men, was flourishing in the zone by the end of the occupation in 1949. There existed a "friendliness toward France which was not felt in the other zones toward their occupiers." Even reparations and economic exploitation had proved to be "only a temporary drag on German economic recovery." The author thus justifiably concludes that the occupation was a "success."

Willis' study is well organized, clearly written, and based upon an impressive array of official documents, analytical literature, and personal testimony (which does not, unfortunately, include an interview with the commander in chief, General Pierre Koenig). It fills a major gap in contemporary European history which had been only partially covered by such earlier treatments of Allied occupation policy as a whole as Alfred Grosser's excellent work, *L'Allemagne de l'occident, 1945-1952* (1953). Willis' observation that the time for a "definitive" treatment of the subject has not yet come should not blind the reader to the very solid merits of this first history of the French occupation. But since this is indeed an introductory study, a more detailed and formal bibliography than the bibliographical note presented would have been welcome. Future researchers should be made aware of the basic bibliographies of French and German books and articles on post-1945 Germany contained in the bibliographical supplements of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* and at the end of the two volumes of the Deutsch-Französisches Institut at Ludwigsburg published in 1954 and 1957 (*Deutschland-Frankreich; Ludwigsburger Beiträge zum Problem der deutsch-französischen Beziehungen*).

Trinity College

PHILIP C. F. BANKWITZ

SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504-1650). Second Part, PARTIE INTERPRÉTATIVE. STRUCTURES ET CONJONCTURE DE L'ATLANTIQUE ESPAGNOL ET HISPANO-AMÉRICAIN (1504-1650). Volume VIII, Part 1, LES STRUCTURES, STRUCTURES GÉOGRAPHIQUES. Part 2, LA CONJONCTURE (1504-1592) and LA CONJONCTURE (1593-1650). By *Pierre Chaunu*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre des recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volume VI₈, 11 bis.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. cxxv, 1212; 840; 853-2050, xxvi plates.)

THIS *thèse principale* for the *doctorat d'état* is a work of remarkable quality that covers in a unique way a century and a half of the history of the Atlantic, "le plus vieil océan à l'échelle humaine, le premier qui ait été régulièrement franchi,

le premier à s'être trouvé au coeur d'une économie, mieux d'une civilisation, diverse, complexe, multiple. . . ." It is difficult to classify the work adequately. Not a standard history, or even a history of geographical exploration or of oceanography, it is instead a special kind of history, "interdisciplinary" in nature, which relies heavily on geography, economics, and statistics. More specifically, it is the history of the Atlantic as a trading area during the hegemony of Spain, of Atlantic shipping, of the *Carrera de Indias*, of the commercial relations between Spain and the New World; a combination of disciplines utilizing documentary and other sources, focusing on the Atlantic in such a way as to make possible a fresh and immensely rewarding look at reality.

The first volume is devoted to the "structures géographiques": how the space of the *Carrera* was acquired; the Iberian Peninsula (principally Andalusia and Portugal); the Atlantic islands of Europe (the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores); the islands of the New World that were important to the *Carrera*; and the mainland areas of Spanish America that were affected by the *Carrera*. The next two volumes concern more immediately the history of the *Carrera*. There are chapters on economic growth and decline, on tonnage, on the volume of trade, on the *Carrera* and New Spain and Peru, on the economic depression of the second half of the sixteenth century, on the royal silver cycle, on the apogee of the Atlantic controlled by Seville (1592-1622), on the great depression of 1623-1650. The author proves beyond question that the *Carrera* was organized in response to a need, that it was not created artificially, that Seville and Cádiz were the only areas of Spain capable of trading with the New World, that the *Carrera* in its heyday was an efficient and reasonable way of doing business. The *Carrera* also depended (at times more than the Spaniards would have liked) on Portugal and on the strategic Atlantic islands of Portugal, and this phase of the story is competently treated here for the first time. Chaunu obviously finds it difficult to understand the Portuguese (and their language), and the work reflects a certain impatience with the most daring and adventuresome of the Iberians. But this impatience may be quietly forgotten. The reader, in fact, will be struck by the author's over-all fairness. He is not condescending in his attitudes, nor is he blinded by the admiration that he clearly has for the Spaniards. From a psychological viewpoint, no one could possibly have been better prepared for the task than Chaunu.

The late C. H. Haring substantially covered the same ground in his *Trade and Navigation*, but Haring was more limited in his approach and for that reason left many things unsaid. Besides, he lacked Chaunu's breadth of vision, scope of scholarship, and maturity of thinking: he was more juridically minded. His book was a pioneer undertaking, and it continues to have its place, but Chaunu has put the story on an infinitely higher level. Chaunu's method has also been tried before, by the late Lucien Febvre and more recently by Fernand Braudel (from whom, indeed, he learned it). There is nothing recondite or elusive about the method, but it does make prodigious demands upon an author.

To appreciate fully the magnitude of Chaunu's achievement, we must bear in mind that the present volumes were preceded by and were partially based upon splendid volumes of documentary sources collected by the author and by Huguette Chaunu. The total effort is therefore as monumental as one has any right in our days to expect, and it is a credit not only to the scholarship of the author and of his collaborators but also to the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*.

Even so, it is a great pity that a work of this value, so full of new insights, which significantly enlarges our knowledge of the subject, should suffer from the author's habit of expressing pleasure and surprise at his own observations and conclusions. It is true that we are dealing now with the interpretive part of the study; yet the study is addressed to specialists, and specialists are quite capable of recognizing a good thing when they find it. Partly for this reason and partly because of the exigencies of the method, the work is also verbose and long winded. It could have been less repetitious, the text compressed for the benefit of its restricted reading public. It is, in short, as a well-known French critic has remarked, *aplastante*.

Perhaps Chaunu will see fit (even as Toynbee did), once the sequel to the present work is done—an account of Cádiz and the Atlantic to 1783—to write a one-volume abridgment of the completed work, but with the clarity of expression that foreigners have come to expect from French prose. Until that day comes, only a limited audience will be able to appreciate what I have no doubt must be the most important single work on the history of colonial Spanish America that has been written in recent times.

Catholic University of America

MANOEL CARDOZO

PAARDENKRACHT EN MENSENMACHT: SOCIAAL-ECONOMISCHE GESCHIEDENIS VAN NEDERLAND, 1795–1940. By I. J. Brugmans. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1961. Pp. xvi, 591. Glds. 25.)

UNDER a somewhat misleading and irrelevant title, the author of *Horsepower and Manpower* has presented us with the only up-to-date and scholarly general survey of the economic history of the Netherlands in modern times since Ernst Baasch published his *Holländische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* in 1927. Professor Brugmans, who has devoted a lifetime of research, writing, and teaching to the study of nineteenth-century Dutch economic history, was particularly well qualified to perform the monumental task of synthesis that the compilation of such a text entails. Based in part on the author's own research, the volume takes into account the vast amount of scholarly work performed by others in the field of Dutch economic history over the past thirty-five years. An eighteen-page list of books and articles that were consulted in the preparation of this volume, while no substitute for an exhaustive bibliography, bears testimony to Brugmans' industry and

his familiarity with the best available literature and published source materials.

The geographic scope of the inquiry is strictly limited to the present territory of the Netherlands. The brief union with Belgium from 1815 to 1830 seems to have had very little impact on the economy of the northern Netherlands. If there was any such impact, it is not immediately apparent from this book. On the other hand, the meaning of the colonies for the economic development of the home country constitutes a recurrent theme.

The organization of the book is chronological; Brugmans distinguishes six periods: 1795-1813, 1813-1850, 1850-1870, 1870-1914, 1914-1930, and 1930-1940. With the exception of the one brought about by the economic crisis of 1929, these divisions are essentially tied to political events: the fall of the Dutch Republic (1795), the end of French occupation (1813), the introduction of a liberal constitution (1848), the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the beginnings of the two world wars. Thus the economic development of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is discussed within what is essentially a political frame of reference.

As one might expect of an author whose first major publication dealt with the *Dutch Working Class in the 19th Century*, labor problems are treated rather extensively. Nevertheless it would be claiming too much for the book to call it a "socioeconomic" history, as the subtitle does. Though the author frequently relates economic to political, social, and cultural developments, the main focus of the book remains firmly on economic developments. For each of the periods into which he has divided his story, Brugmans examines in detail the state of commerce, banking, transportation, industry, and agriculture.

The story that unfolds is one that should be of particular interest to those concerned with the problems of underdeveloped countries. It is not customary to think of the Netherlands as an underdeveloped nation. And yet, after its liberation from French rule in 1813, this once proud nation of traders had become an economic backwater owing in large part to shifts in the pattern of international commerce and the growth of industry as a principal source of wealth. By what means and under what conditions the Dutch were able eventually to adapt themselves to the requirements of the times and to regain their former position of economic eminence among the Western nations is Brugmans' story. He tells it well in a clear expository style and with obvious mastery of his subject. Though perhaps somewhat long on facts and somewhat short on interpretation, this book is likely to remain for many years the standard text for all those who seek to understand the economic foundations of modern Holland. At the same time it will stimulate professional economists and historians to undertake further research and provide new interpretations.

Washington, D. C.

BERTUS H. WABEKE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC MIND: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF GERMAN POLITICAL SENTIMENTS, ASPIRATIONS AND IDEAS. Volume II, THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Frederick Hertz*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1962. Pp. 487. 50s.)

PROFESSOR Frederick Hertz, an Austrian scholar who has lived in Britain since the rise of Hitler, is writing an extensive study of the German public mind, of the political sentiments, aspirations, and ideas held by the different sections of the German people. The present volume deals with the period from the emergence of absolute monarchies after the Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. It ends, therefore, on the eve of the rise of German nationalism. In the eighteenth century Western ideas of the Enlightenment gained many enthusiastic followers in Germany, especially among the intellectuals. In the nineteenth century German intellectuals and, following them, a large section of public opinion turned against the ideas of the Enlightenment. But even then in small circles and among isolated individuals Western ideas of political and cultural liberalism preserved their influence. Hertz's forthcoming third volume will deal with that decisive period in the development of the German public mind.

Hertz writes with great objectivity, but his heart is certainly with the eighteenth century. He does not regard the old Empire as beyond the possibility of reform, and he is especially fair with the two high courts of the Empire in which he sees an important institution for the protection of the rights of the people. Almost all German intellectuals of the period preferred diversity and particularism to the idea of a united political nation. The author terminates his book by quoting the well-known verses written by Goethe and Schiller in 1796:

Zur Nation Euch zu bilden, Ihr hofft es, Deutsche, vergebens.
Bildet, Ihr könnt es, dafür freier zu Menschen Euch aus!

After 1848 more and more Germans disregarded and rejected this warning by the great poets of their classical age.

The longest chapter in the book is devoted to Frederick II of Prussia and the political ideas of his age. In summing up the verdict of history about the Prussian monarch, Hertz blames him for his policy of hostility toward Austria, which led to Russia's rise to the position of the strongest power in Europe. "Its results today form not only Germany's fate but also the greatest menace to all free nations in the world. A further disastrous heritage of Frederick's policy was the claim of the army and of military considerations to predominance in the state." This heritage played a decisive part in bringing about the outbreak of the war of 1914. "Those who had cultivated the legend of Frederick the Great and had praised him as a model had prepared the ground for it." The invasion of Belgium followed Frederick's invasion of Saxony. Looking upon the consequences of this imitation of Frederick, Hertz writes that in 1914 "a defensive war against the Panslav menace in the East could certainly have been won by Germany and Aus-

tria. Russia, indeed, was defeated in spite of all the help given by her allies. But the invasion of Belgium implied an aggressive war against the West and made the intervention of Great Britain, America and other powers unavoidable."

University of Denver

HANS KOHN

BISMARCK, THE HOHENZOLLERN CANDIDACY, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR OF 1870. By *Lawrence D. Steefel*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 281. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Steefel's original intention was to study the early history of the Hohenzollern candidature; he has been fascinated by its mystery since the 1920's, when he was a student of Robert H. Lord, the author of *The Origins of the War of 1870*. Indeed, Lord, whom Steefel quotes in his opening statement, pointed the way to further research: "The papers relating to the early history of the Hohenzollern Candidacy to the throne of Spain—papers which must excite the liveliest curiosity of all who have delved into that fascinating mystery—down to the time when the question became public through the 'explosion' at Paris, are not yet open to investigators. I was told that these papers are reserved for a future official publication." I published these papers, kept in a "secret file," in full a few years ago. Their publication upset some of Lord's "conclusions and conjectures," as Steefel had to realize, and he decided to rewrite the story after long soul searching, after having convinced himself that he had the posthumous blessing of his old teacher.

The book, in fact, tells two stories: the Hohenzollern candidature before July 3, 1870, and the diplomatic crisis of the last days preceding the war of 1870. For the early history of the Hohenzollern candidature, Steefel follows rather slavishly the published documents, and the story remains extremely confused. The characters in particular do not live, and yet it should have been fairly simple to show how they determined the course of the secret negotiation. In the second part of the book, the author covers well-trodden ground, and the narrative picks up momentum.

On controversial questions connected with the Hohenzollern candidature, and there are a number of them, Steefel is content to offer the varied and conflicting views expressed by his predecessors; he does not seriously attempt to establish the causes or responsibilities of the war of 1870. This noncommittal attitude is consistent with his policy of using no hindsight: "I have tried to look at the evidence from the point of view of 1866 to 1870 without benefit of hindsight." Obviously, the historian, who does not know that the war of 1870 has taken place, cannot see men or events moving toward that particular war.

On one point, however, the author is bold: he writes, "The fact remains that it was France which declared war." This is in contrast to Lord's views which were

definitely anti-Bismarck and anti-German. Lord had published his book in 1924 and was involved in the bitter controversies surrounding the question of German "war guilt" in the First World War.

Though the author claims "to have studied all of the important books and articles about the problem," one is obliged to mention a few regrettable omissions among recent publications, for example, the articles by Erich Eyck in the *Deutsche Rundschau* and Rudolf Morsey in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1958). They have tried, like Steefel, to put in narrative form the new documents on the early history of the candidature. Even more regrettable, perhaps, is the omission of another article by Morsey, again in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1957), where unpublished material was brought to light from the *Reichskanzlei* files in Potsdam and from Sybel's papers in Merseburg; both of these East German sources are unfortunately closed to Western scholars.

St. Antony's College, Oxford

GEORGES BONNIN

DIE GENERALSTÄBE IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1871-1945: AUFGABEN IN DER ARMEE UND STELLUNG IM STAATE. DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER MILITÄRISCHEN LUFTFAHRT IN DEUTSCHLAND 1920-1933: PLANUNG UND MASSNAHMEN ZUR SCHAFFUNG EINER FLIEGERTRUPPE IN DER REICHSWEHR. [Schriftenreihe des militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes. Beiträge zur Militär- und Kriegsgeschichte, Nummer 3.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1962. Pp. 292. DM 24.)

THE historical series produced by the Military History Research Institute of the West German Army continues in the tradition of the military studies issued by the great Prussian general staff, the *Reichsarchiv*, and the War History Research Institute of the *Wehrmacht*. This third volume consists of two independent monographs, the first of which surveys the organic development of the general staff system in Germany from 1871 to 1945, while the second describes the manner in which the essentials for the rapid creation of a powerful air force were kept intact or created in Germany between 1918 and 1933. In view of their independence, these monographs must be treated separately.

"The General Staffs in Germany" is a lucid and valuable survey of the organization and relative positions in the state and military hierarchies of the general staffs of the German army—with the briefest of bows to the navy—and of the *Wehrmacht*. Emphasis is on historical development and changes of policy and status. Mr. Schmidt-Richberg underlines the essential changelessness of the general character of the general staffs, of the characteristics demanded of their officers, and of the basic functions that these staffs performed even during a period of rapid organizational changes resulting in a constantly decreasing influence of these staffs upon national military policy.

Most of what is said here can be found elsewhere by the diligent searcher and is not new to the specialist in German military history. This data cannot, how-

ever, be found in any one place and is frequently difficult to locate. The author has paralleled Walther Hubatsch's *Der Admiralstab und die obersten Marinebehörden in Deutschland, 1848–1945*. Together they provide a valuable contribution to the military history of Germany and to the history of the development of modern military control organizations and techniques.

While the contribution of the first essay was essentially synthetic in nature, the second opens a new and previously untilled field where speculation has hitherto ruled almost unchecked. Karl-Heinz Völker tells the story of the quiet but bitter struggle of a handful of staff officers convinced of the vital importance of military aviation for Germany. These men, aided by some superiors and hindered by others, maintained the idea of air power in the *Reichswehr*, carefully nurtured a cadre of fliers and technicians, and created the organizations and the aircraft (through private industry) with which to defend Germany in case of need or to rebuild the German air force if and when such a revival was allowed by the Allies or ordered by the government.

Despite problems of organization and repetition, the story Völker unfolds is new, fascinating, and convincingly documented. This essay closes the most obvious and largest gap in the surprisingly neglected history of the *Luftwaffe* and provides a striking case history in disarmament and rearmament. Clearly, the Allies were unable to prevent the Germans from maintaining all the essentials for rapid aerial rearmament despite serious endeavors in this direction and despite the minimal nature of official support of evasion in Germany. On the other hand, the Germans were unable to maintain any form of useful air force under the existing conditions. As in the case of the army, the result of imposed restrictions was temporary weakness but potential strength.

This book deserves the attention of the serious student of military affairs and of institutions. It is also invaluable for any citizen who wants to evaluate arguments on disarmament on the basis of a classic example.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

GRIFF NACH DER WELTMACHT: DIE KRIEGSZIELPOLITIK DES KAISERLICHEN DEUTSCHLAND 1914/18. By Fritz Fischer. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1961. Pp. 896. DM 34.80.)

THE story of Germany's war aims in World War I has been told before. Yet no previous work has been able to use the wealth of documentary material that Professor Fischer and his diligent research assistants have unearthed from the archives not only of West Germany, but of East Germany and Austria as well. These official sources, covering almost every phase of Germany's wartime government, enable the author to take a fresh look at this controversial subject and to come up with some startling discoveries.

The title of the book tells the gist of the story: how Germany hoped to use victory in World War I to achieve hegemony, not merely over Europe, but over

the world. Fischer begins by briefly placing this German striving for *Weltmacht* into its historical perspective. His discussion of pre-1914 German imperialism offers nothing new, at least to non-German readers. But his chapter on Germany's role in the crisis of 1914 substantially adds to and in some important respects revises our views on those crucial events. Much attention is directed at Bethmann Hollweg who, it seems, was far less the reasonable and moderate "philosopher in the chancellor's chair," and far more the realistic and determined advocate of German national interests, than historians heretofore have suspected. Much of Fischer's charge, that Germany "bears a considerable part of the historical responsibility for the outbreak of the general war," ultimately belongs at the door of the German Chancellor.

When it came to war aims, Bethmann Hollweg again played a far more important part than has been assumed thus far. By September 9, 1914, he had worked out a detailed program for the annexation or the political, military, and economic domination of vast regions in Europe and overseas. And while, for various reasons of domestic and foreign policy, he preferred not to publicize this program, he never seriously deviated from it. It was this program that formed the basis for all subsequent plans of German aggrandizement. In their totality, they "called for an empire of grandiose dimensions."

This is not the place to go into the detailed history of these plans, which forms the bulk of this book. They called for the direct annexation of economically or militarily important regions along Germany's frontiers, from which the original inhabitants were to be evacuated to make room for German settlers. They envisaged a category of vassal states, notably Belgium and Poland, over whose destiny Germany would exercise full control. In the East, a number of nominally autonomous states were to be closely bound to Germany by political and economic ties, with Finland and Rumania serving as cornerstones. The remaining small neutrals were to be pressured into the framework of a German-dominated *Mitteleuropa*. Even Germany's allies, while theoretically partners in this gigantic enterprise, were to be so in a decidedly junior capacity. The new German empire, furthermore, was to extend its influence far over land and sea, into Asia and Africa. On the latter continent, a huge *Mittelafrika* was to form the colonial counterpart to *Mitteleuropa*.

In the past, the more extreme of these German schemes have sometimes been depreciated as mere dreams of a small, unofficial German minority, organized in various annexationist pressure groups. But Fischer gives ample proof that these aims originated and found support among Germany's leaders, civilian and military. No means were overlooked to bring about their realization, even the fomenting of revolution within enemy countries and colonies. Attempts to negotiate separate peace settlements with one or the other of the Allied powers invariably failed because of Germany's unwillingness to modify its expansionist hopes. Only at Brest-Litovsk, where the Germans were able to dictate peace, did some of these hopes come true, at least temporarily.

These are a few of the many facets of the war aims problem treated in this massive book. There are many others. Not all of them are as new as might appear. Fischer's book has some minor flaws, chiefly of style and organization. It is unnecessarily repetitious, and its involved and interminable sentences make for surprisingly dull reading. But these are shortcomings that can be remedied in a projected English edition. They do not detract from the basic importance of the book.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

ATTI DEL XXXVII CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (BARI, 26-30 OTTOBRE 1958). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume V.] (Rome: the Istituto, 1961. Pp. xxiv, 286.)

CONVEGNO DI STUDI SUL RISORGIMENTO A BOLOGNA E NELL'EMILIA (27-29 FEBBRAIO 1960). Volume I, RELAZIONI; Volume II, COMUNICAZIONI. ([Bologna:] Comitato per le celebrazioni bolognesi del centenario dell'unità d'Italia. [1960.] Pp. viii, 333; iv, 338-1271.)

ATTI DEL XXXIX CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (PALERMO-NAPOLI, 17-23 OTTOBRE 1960). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume VII.] (Rome: the Istituto, 1961. Pp. 585.)

THE hundredth anniversary of the culminating phase of the *Risorgimento* has found those Italians who were neither too busy enjoying their present "economic miracle" nor too preoccupied with the mysteries of the recent "opening to the left" devoting some attention to commemorative activities. Looking back, now that the celebrations are over, it appears that they fell into three main categories, with a perennial fourth—the iconoclastic—hovering in the background. The first of those categories included *Risorgimento* centennial celebrations on a popular, often sporadic and journalistic, level. A second and very important category brought a harvest of ideological interpretations that turned the history of the *Risorgimento* into a battleground of contemporary political faiths and, not infrequently, of party alliances. For the historian, the third category of commemorative activities is in many ways the most significant and fruitful. A series of professional meetings was held in key cities, under the sponsorship of national or local historical associations whose preparations were frequently coordinated through the central Roman Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano.

The publication of the proceedings of four such meetings is extremely helpful both for the historian of the *Risorgimento* and for all scholars of modern Europe who want to remain informed concerning the latest research on the making of modern Italy. In these *Atti* and others still to be published, the obviously restrictive focus of much of the professional scholarship on the *Risorgimento* is inevitably

present. Yet only in such collections of scholarly endeavors can one trace at their source the new streams and potential course of present and future *Risorgimento* historiography. Historians of real integrity, while they could not be completely impervious to the psychological and moral, indeed to the "passional," appeal of the *Risorgimento* as national myth, were necessarily challenged at such meetings to seek and express the truth on the *Risorgimento* as history.

It would, of course, be premature and perhaps unwise, if it were not a statistical absurdity, to strike a balance of the fundamental "collective" message of the seventy-three scholarly contributions contained in these four huge volumes. It seems tentatively clear, nevertheless, that these volumes will disappoint those devoted to the *Risorgimento* as rhetoric and perplex those historical "realists" and theoreticians of the *Risorgimento* who view it as an Italian "revolution that failed." In essence, the multiplicity of hard facts, the documentation involved in these monographic studies, and the variety of emphases and viewpoints succeed in limiting the *Risorgimento* as seamless myth even as they compound the complexity of the *Risorgimento* as chronicle.

It is obviously impossible to do justice even to the most outstanding papers presented at the four learned meetings. Noteworthy is the very fact that all the proceedings of these congresses were published. The editors of these *Atti* act in the guise of mere recorders who assume that the selection of an active participant, whether as *relatore* or *corrispondente*, automatically accorded the privilege of a larger "audience" than tended to be present at such meetings. In these volumes one finds, therefore, much that is good, some that is excellent, and a fair share of the mediocre. The reader must judge whether the notables of the craft have worked as fruitfully on *Risorgimento* problems as the fledglings, the beginners, the obscure participants, who are in a predominant majority. On the whole, the "deans" have monopolized the larger and crucial problems, the broader concepts, the demiurges of the *Risorgimento*, frequently as the thematic preludes to the programmatic purposes of the congresses. Thus, though neither Cavour nor Mazzini receive direct attention, Garibaldi, perhaps justifiably, is accorded the greater share in the events of 1860 by the elders of the scholarly congresses. In what is undoubtedly the most cohesive of these four volumes, that of the *Atti* of the Palermo and Naples meetings, the "affairs of Italy" are clearly and intriguingly presented as the moving forces of the politics of both Liberal and Conservative Europe. The younger historians, on the other hand, stay closer to particulars, to minor currents of thought and action in northern and southern Italy during the annexation crisis, and to the vicissitudes of the "miracle years" 1859-1860 in some provincial environment.

Undoubtedly, in the long run, the larger themes of the masters' studies and the humbler monographs of the younger scholars will somehow tend to fuse in some happy synthesis. But it is, as it has recently been, possible in modern Italian historiography to see the gaps widen before that "fusion" occurs. These volumes are conspicuous, among other things, for the absence of certain rather bright, if not

in every case wise, Italian historians of "middle age" who have come to maturity in the postwar period. The mood of self-asserted "rebellion" against what some of these men, particularly those of Marxist persuasion, claim to have been the closed circles of the notables of the profession in Italy, the formalism and the "tendentious conformism" of "self-satisfied, successful elders," might find some justification in a superficial perusal of the roster of authorities and themes included in these volumes. On the other hand, the fact that a "rebellion," which has led some of those younger men to leap away from a possible professional conformism into a certain ideological dogmatism does not necessarily represent an advance toward historiographical maturity, has not, alas, at least until recently, always been properly appreciated in Italy.

These four volumes could be of immense aid and guidance to those devotees of "local history" who, in Europe and America, seem to operate on the assumption that the historical universe must rotate about their worlds. There is not a single paper in these volumes which, however significant it may be as a contribution to Italian "local history"—the southern and central Italian countryside on the eve and during the Garibaldian expedition, the attitudes and actions of artisans and "little people" of the cities and towns of Sicily, Apulia, the Neapolitan, and the Romagna—forsakes or underrates the larger sweep of national and European events during that critical Italian period.

This is particularly true and clear in the *Atti* of the Bologna Congress when seen in relation to what is contained in the proceedings of the Palermo and Naples meetings. Luigi Dal Pane's book-length monograph on the economic and social life of Bologna during the era of the *Risorgimento* constitutes an exemplary original study of truly exceptional value both for its vast and minute documentary and statistical apparatus and for the sustained treatment of an important "local" topic. The briefer studies in the accompanying volume of *Comunicazioni* amount to a vast collection of essays dealing with other economic and social developments in the Romagna and Emilia and with "local" religious and cultural currents running from the mid-eighteenth century to the annexations of 1860. One need only turn, after a first reading, back to the *Atti* of the Naples Congress and particularly to the fine article by Passerin d'Entrèves on the Italian aspects of the Cavourian annexation policy and to those by Godechot and Mack Smith for reactions elicited by that policy in France and England, respectively, for an understanding of the connection between the "local history" studied by Dal Pane for Bologna, Titone for Sicily, and Nino Cortese for Naples and Italian national and European history.

These volumes, forbiddingly massive as they are and frightfully dispersive as their themes may appear, collectively contain an excellent harvest of new materials and fresh viewpoints on the *Risorgimento*. In some cases the essays are only of the stuff footnotes are made of. But this, one would hope, should let the hearts of students of modern Italian and European history, for whom footnotes are not the pretexts but the foundation of scholarly endeavor, leap with joy. Others can at least take comfort in the fact that these scholarly "celebrations" of the *Risorgi-*

mento have apparently coincided, perhaps not by accident, at the same time with the promising reassertion of an Italian historiographical autonomy and a fearless deprovincialization of the Italian historical intelligence.

University of Rochester

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

IVAN THE GREAT OF MOSCOW. By *J. L. I. Fennell*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 386. \$12.00.)

CATHERINE THE GREAT: AUTOCRAT AND EMPRESS OF ALL RUSSIA. By *Ian Grey*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1962. Pp. 254. \$6.00.)

J. L. I. Fennell makes the reason for his work clear: "No monograph has yet been written in English on Ivan III. The purpose of this book is to give historians who know no Russian or have no access to Russian sources an insight into the growth and expansion of the state of Muscovy during the reign of Ivan III." This purpose, as Fennell himself points out, results in very heavy emphasis on "foreign policy and diplomatic methods"; the "internal" history of the Russian state during the critical second half of the fifteenth century is summarized in one chapter.

One expects to read then, and does, an extremely well-written and cogent diplomatic history. Negotiations, embassies, wars, treaties are accurately described and intelligently explained on the basis of the well-known sources and the best Russian studies; nothing is added to scholarship and nothing subtracted. Fennell's general conception of Russian history in the fifteenth century, however, does raise some questions. With some reservations, he admires Ivan III: "None of the descendants of Rurik ever set themselves so immense and ambitious a task, and came so close to achieving that task, as did Ivan III. His goal was the union of all Russia . . . and the creation of a centralized State. . . ." The innumerable and confused events during a reign of forty-three years are all fitted into a pattern which, according to Fennell, reflected and revealed the master plan in the mind of the Grand Prince. With enormous single-mindedness, patiently and ruthlessly, Ivan III worked toward his goal.

This conception is logically dubious, as any *ex post facto* reasoning is likely to be. Fennell argues that all the wars of Ivan III on his southern and eastern frontier were a "clearing of the flanks," preparation for the great war against Lithuania. One can equally well argue that Ivan III fought in the east and south first because the danger was more pressing in those directions or because Lithuania was too strong an enemy until late in the fifteenth century.

This conception is also distortingly narrow. It forces Fennell to explain the internal development of Muscovy as a consequence of its external relations, which seems to be putting things on their head. It allows him to refer to the enormously complex and vital development of Muscovite ideology as "the foolish and flam-

boyant claims of the Russian churchmen and publicists to the effect that the so-called 'Byzantine heritage' had passed to Moscow . . ."; a more absurd description of the doctrine of "Moscow—The Third Rome," which had nothing to do with diplomatics or foreign relations, could hardly be imagined.

Finally, this conception is archaic. To explain the fascinating and incredibly complicated problem of the rise of the absolutist secularized state by the genius of an Ivan III, a Louis XI, or a Henry VII simply will not do. We end up with a suspiciously large number of geniuses in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both in the East and the West. And, perhaps because Fennell did not choose to consider Russian society in all of its complexity, he chose certain distasteful characterizations, fortunately infrequent, to dramatize his narrative. To write of "totalitarianism" in the fifteenth century is meaningless. To refer to Muscovy's "oriental" cunning, duplicity, and double-dealing, in the age of Louis XI of France, or in the age of any diplomacy, is equally meaningless.

Ian Grey has written a lively history of Catherine II; it contains every cliché about Catherine II and Russia that I have ever encountered.

University of Chicago

MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: ESSAYS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

Edited by *Ivo J. Lederer*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. xxiii, 620. \$10.00.)

THIS impressive collection of essays is the result of a conference on "A Century of Russian Foreign Policy" held at Yale University in April 1961. Only a few of the excellent contributions can be discussed here.

Adam Ulam, in a chapter on "Nationalism, Panslavism, Communism," argues that Marxist ideology has produced a curious conflict in Soviet policy today. "The logic of events has imposed upon the Soviet Union the policy of co-existence with the capitalist world. The logic of their ideological commitments imposed upon the Soviets the necessity of furthering Communist expansion." At the very moment that many rich fruits (the colonies and former colonies) seem ready for the picking, Soviet policy is hamstrung by the terrible specter of thermonuclear war. This dilemma is further complicated by the fact that, with the expansion of Communism to China and other countries, the Soviet Union is no longer "the undoubted master of the Communist world and a free agent in its foreign policies."

In a highly original essay Theodore Von Laue describes the historical importance of the Russians' feeling of inferiority toward the West. Knowledge of Western superiority, he points out, exerted a profoundly subversive influence on tsarist society, with the result that the tsar was overthrown in the minds of his subjects long before he was physically ousted from power. The Bolshevik Revolution was itself in many ways a product of the Russian inferiority complex and the equally powerful determination to catch up with and surpass the West. The holy mis-

sion of the Pan-Slavs was replaced by the Communists' mission of Russia leading the world to revolution. "The U.S.S.R. was held up as a global prototype. . . . Thus official foreign policy and the deepest aspirations of Russian ambition were once again brought into alignment." Through its claim to be the leader of the fight for the emancipation of mankind, its program of economic modernization, and its achievements in foreign policy, science, and other fields, the Soviet regime has to a large extent given its people one thing they have long craved: national self-respect.

Richard Pipes discusses the relationship between Russian domestic politics and foreign policy. He concludes that, under both tsars and commissars, domestic politics and public opinion have had pitifully little influence on foreign policy. Furthermore, neither regime developed a foreign policy based on national interest. Before the Revolution decisions were usually determined by international diplomacy or the personal whims of the tsar, while under the Communists, Russia has been committed to revolutionary global aims without any regard for the desires, interests, or welfare of the masses of Soviet citizens.

Robert C. Tucker traces the role of the ruler in Russian foreign policy, pointing out that whereas the tsars could determine policy without taking anyone else's views into consideration, Lenin operated under an oligarchical system, with decisions usually being made collectively, and with Lenin frequently having to argue long and hard for his viewpoint. Stalin revived the autocratic methods of the tsars, while Khrushchev appears to have returned to Lenin's oligarchical techniques.

The relative importance of the Russian Foreign Ministry under each ruler from Alexander I to the present is described by Robert M. Slusser. The most controversial part of his analysis is his attack on the common assumption that Stalin had full control of Soviet foreign policy as early as 1929. Slusser maintains that in fact the Politburo was deeply divided on foreign policy issues in the 1930's, with the result that Litvinov was given "a limited but genuine area of autonomy and freedom of tactical maneuver." According to Slusser, it was not until the arrest of Bukharin in 1937, the stepping up of the purges, and, finally, the removal of Litvinov in 1939 that Stalin secured complete domination of Soviet foreign policy.

A leading expert on Soviet military doctrine, Raymond L. Garthoff, hopefully asserts that although the Soviet leaders show no signs of reconciliation with the non-Communist world, they do not look upon war as the chief means for promoting Communism and especially do not regard nuclear war as a feasible instrument of policy. Since 1956, he points out, Khrushchev has revised Leninism by rejecting the doctrine of the inevitability of war, and since 1960 he has also repudiated the Stalinist implication that a third world war would be "the logical eventual path to the complete extension of socialism throughout the world."

A general theme throughout the book is that of continuity between tsarist and Soviet foreign policy, with some contributors emphasizing and others minimizing

it. Nowhere is it more strikingly illustrated than in Firuz Kazemzadeh's elaboration of Russian policy in the Middle East. With many examples of Soviet duplicity and insincerity fresh in our minds, it is interesting to read how tsarist officials in the latter half of the nineteenth century assured the British time after time that Russia absolutely would not expand further into Turkestan, all the while knowing that the next military expedition was already being prepared. Kazemzadeh also points out remarkable parallels between tsarist and Soviet attempts to annex, or at least dominate, northern Iran.

Donald W. Treadgold contributes a lengthy chapter on "Russia and the Far East," with special attention to China. Among his more interesting points is the debated question of whether Stalin gave Mao the green light to seize power in China after World War II or whether, on the contrary, Stalin actually did not want the Communists to win in China, for fear he could not control them. Treadgold argues: "it is highly unlikely that in 1945 or 1946 Stalin suddenly abandoned the effort to spread Communism in China, for which he had labored for two decades. . . . It furthermore seems clear that the Soviets did nothing to retard the chances of Chinese Communist success then or later, and much to assist them, whether or not Stalin thought they could win."

Henry L. Roberts asserts that "an attempt to derive the present phase of Soviet-U. S. relations from their diplomatic relations in the nineteenth century would be exceedingly misleading . . . [since] this earlier period . . . really tells us very little about recent, current, or future developments." This does not mean that Roberts feels the historian has nothing to contribute to an understanding of present relations; he contends that a study of the domestic histories of the two countries may be the more profitable angle of approach.

Space limitations prohibit mention of any of the other stimulating and informative chapters. The contributors are all well-known scholars, and their collective product is one of the most useful books ever published in this country on Russian foreign policy.

University of Virginia

THOMAS T. HAMMOND

THE SOVIET UNION AT THE UNITED NATIONS: AN INQUIRY INTO SOVIET MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES. By *Alexander Dallin*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 106.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. viii, 244. Cloth \$5.75, paper \$1.95.)

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: A PATTERN OF PERSISTENCE. By *Anthony Trawick Bouscaren*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1962. Pp. 187. \$5.00.)

WHEN one considers the vast quantity of journalistic writing, scholarly articles, and dissertations devoted to Soviet activities in the United Nations, it seems curious that until Dallin's book appeared no full-length study on this subject was

available. One reason is that while Soviet-United Nations relations are attractive to students because of the availability of abundant documentation (very largely in English), a full-dress study requires a mature scholar with an extensive knowledge of the intricacies of Soviet politics. Dallin is exceptionally well qualified, and his book will undoubtedly be the standard treatment of the USSR at the UN for years to come.

Dallin has not tried to provide an exhaustive historical treatment. The book is devoted almost entirely to the Soviet Union and UN agencies, and the discussion emphasizes the post-Stalin period. In a few cases (for example, the nearly complete omission of the important episode of Soviet expulsion from the League) the volume would have gained from greater historical perspective, but the author was doubtless right in concentrating on an analysis of present-day problems. This analysis is comprehensive, well-balanced, and marked by notably sound judgment. On a few issues other specialists will disagree. On larger issues Dallin is highly convincing, as in his trenchant characterization of the basic Soviet motivation in dealing with the Secretary-General: "Soviet determination not to tolerate efforts that would frustrate potential Communist gains in fluid areas around the globe."

Bouscaren's book is designed to fill an even more important gap: an over-all treatment of the USSR's foreign relations. In contrast to Dallin's book, which is grounded on very extensive examination of Soviet sources, Bouscaren relies almost entirely on secondary treatments. At times, indeed, the pages read like an anthology of earlier works. In itself, the reliance upon secondary sources in covering so broad a topic as Soviet foreign policy is unobjectionable, and scarcely avoidable. But at times, Bouscaren's unfamiliarity with the original materials leads him into questionable generalizations. He contends, for instance, that there was a deliberate link between the Communist-led partisans of World War II and the Communist-organized "partisans of the peace" in the postwar period. As has been explained elsewhere, the complete dissimilarity of the Russian words translated as "partisans" makes such a tie unlikely. More important, Bouscaren relies too heavily on a small selection of secondary sources and occasionally reproduces their errors. One of these sources, *Protracted Conflict*, mistakenly defines the Communist term "zone of peace" as the Soviet bloc, whereas in fact Communist spokesmen have used the expression to include both the Soviet bloc and the "neutralist" nations; Bouscaren falls into the same error.

At the beginning of his book Bouscaren emphasizes the ideological basis of Soviet foreign policy and occasionally alludes to this factor. Unfortunately, he omits a considerable amount of revealing evidence concerning the consistency of Soviet aims. His assumption, nevertheless, enables him to make several important points. He notes that, contrary to a certain tendency of wishful thinking, we can deal only with the "Communist bosses," not with the people of Russia itself. Again, he convincingly stresses the point that no amount of tactical flexibility implies real change in Soviet objectives. Even this argument is weakened, however,

by Bouscaren's loose word usage and polemical attacks on the policies of various Western groups with which he does not agree.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG

Africa

A HISTORY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. By *Donald L. Wiedner*. (New York: Random House. 1962. Pp. 578. \$7.95.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF AFRICA. By *Roland Oliver* and *J. D. Fage*. [Penguin African Library AP2.] (Baltimore: Penguin Books. 1962. Pp. 279. \$1.25.)

HISTORIANS have scarcely ever attempted to write Africa's history on a continental scale. Indeed many still regard African history as a mere adjunct to European national history, a history of colonial possessions whose only value is that which Europe has condescended to contribute. By itself this limited vision of the African past explains the appalling ignorance, misunderstandings, and misjudgments about Africa. Happily we are now on the threshold of a decade when African history will be largely rewritten and the history of the Negro and the Islamic civilizations properly integrated with the well-known story of European imperialism. Recent years have seen many excellent monographs dealing primarily with the Africans that have prepared the foundations on which the construction of more expansive, continental history can begin.

First in the field of continental history is Professor Wiedner's *A History of Africa South of the Sahara*. Unfortunately, 40 per cent of the book (Part III) is devoted to the history of Africa since the First World War. It is the most readable and complete part, in which the descriptions of constitutional and political developments reach a high standard of excellence and comprehension, but this emphasis on current events clearly overshadows the preceding two parts and distorts the historical perspective and balance that should prevail in a one-volume history of Africa. To have wasted valuable space on current history frequently results in omissions and inaccuracies in those condensed parts dealing with the African past. In a work of such complexity and organizational difficulties one should not cavil at such minor errors as the fact that the Hausa are not Berbers, but the treatment of the medieval Sudanic states, about which much is known, is quite inadequate. Abyssinia is mentioned only in passing, and the Upper Nile Valley is completely ignored. Little appreciation is given to Egypt, the Arabs, or Islam, all of which had a colossal impact south of the Sahara. Even the history of the West African coast is compressed to confusion. The situation improves in East Africa, but the omission of the Mazaria is astounding and the underestimation of Sayyid Said's abilities surprising. The chapters on imperialism suffer from a confusion of analysis with narration, and events are frequently casually men-

tioned, but never explained until subsequent chapters. Commerce and Christianity are identified as the roots of imperialism, but little credit is given to strategic considerations that, as Robinson and Gallagher have so ably demonstrated, dominated the motives of imperial policy. Although graphically illustrated with many helpful maps, African history before the twentieth century deserves better care and attention.

What Wiedner has lost by concentration on modern Africa, Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage have gained by its subordination. *A Short History of Africa* is a condensed version of a detailed two-volume work on which they are now engaged. Fully aware of the interaction of civilizations across the Sahara, Oliver and Fage stress, perhaps too much, the influence of Egypt in prehistoric times south of the desert, but accurately appreciate the impact in the Middle Ages of the Arab and Islam in East Africa and the Sudan. Before the coming of the Europeans, Africa is dealt with chronologically and regionally, a fact enabling the authors to forego a welter of detail for a clear, concise interpretation of events. This breaks down somewhat when the Europeans scramble to partition Africa, and occasionally judgments are made and generalizations drawn that are more questionable. Leopold II, for instance, certainly triggered the scramble for Africa, but the authors create the impression that the wily monarch was the cause of it all. Egypt and imperial strategy are given their proper place in the scramble, but we know little of African reaction to the partition. The modern era is divided into the colonial period and independent Africa, both of which are admirably complimentary but which together do not eclipse what has come before. This is an excellent book. Readable, scholarly, and mature, it corrects many popular misconceptions and hews an objective path through the jungle of distorted ideas about the history of Africa.

Williams College

ROBERT O. COLLINS

THE FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN EGYPT, 1517-1798. By *Stanford J. Shaw*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Number 19.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xxxiii, 451. \$10.00.)

OTTOMAN EGYPT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE *NIZÂM-NÂME-I MIŞİR* OF CEZZÂR AHMED PASHA. Edited and translated from the original Turkish by *Stanford J. Shaw*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 7.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 61, 20. \$3.00.)

Writing more than a hundred years ago on the public administration and finances of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen asserted that "Staatshaushalt und Finanzwesen des

osmanischen Reiches waren der christlichen Welt überhaupt lange Zeit unbekante Dinge" and showed that the Venetian ambassadors to the Porte were the first to illuminate its financial affairs in their reports to the Signory. But despite their notable work and that of others in this field in the succeeding centuries and the opening of the Ottoman archives in recent decades, the history of the structure, development, and degeneration of the Empire's finances from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century still remains to be written. It is therefore highly gratifying to have Shaw's books concerning the administration and finance of a single Ottoman province—Egypt—during the three centuries under review.

One of the rising scholars of Ottoman Turkish history, Shaw is an indefatigable searcher of archives. The first of his books is a pioneering work based on all the available records in the Ottoman archives in Cairo and Istanbul, in public libraries in Egypt, Turkey, France, and England, and on published materials on Ottoman Egypt in several languages, all of which make up an impressive bibliography. Essentially, this study traces in exhaustive detail the structure, development, and operation of the system of administration that the Ottoman rulers maintained in Egypt from the time of its conquest by Selim I in 1517 until it was occupied in 1798 by a French expedition led by Napoleon. It also discusses basic Ottoman objectives and the extent to which they were actually fulfilled.

The Ottoman administration in Egypt was organized to exploit the wealth of the province and divert a maximum portion of the revenues to the Porte. Shaw has consequently arranged his highly technical study in five appropriate parts, in order to examine the exploitation according to the means by which it was accomplished. Following a brief discussion of the political structure and development of Ottoman Egypt (1517–1798), the author surveys the sources of wealth and the imperial treasury revenues derived from them; examines the distribution of the treasury to fulfill obligations in Egypt and in the Holy Cities and to purchase materials and commodities for the Porte; considers the surplus of the treasury from the *muquâtâ'a* (leasing) tenure system to provide the "remittances" (*irsâliyye-i hazîne*) from the governor of Egypt (*vali*) to the Porte as well as the "inheritance tax" (*hulvân*), which successfully replaced the "remittances" after they became inadequate to achieve the aims of the Porte in Egypt; and discusses the role of the *vali* and of his personal revenues and expenditures in the financial process and the central organization of the financial system in the treasury of Egypt.

In contrast to the other parts of the Empire where the *timar* (fief) system was used, the whole of Egypt was assigned as a *muquâtâ'a* to the *vali* who was responsible for organizing the collection of tax revenue from the various urban and rural sources, meeting the necessary expenditures in the province, and sending the surplus as "remittances" to Istanbul. With the decline of the central Ottoman administration in the eighteenth century, power in Egypt was usurped by a succession of Mameluke houses which aggrandized the "remittances" for their own use. It was only by playing off the various contending Mameluke factions that the

Porte was able to preserve any position in Egypt; only by confirming the seizure of lands and properties of the losers could the Porte collect a *hulvân*, which partially made up for the financial losses of the "remittances." But when, after 1779, Egypt fell under the absolute control of the Mameluke house led by Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey who cut off the *hulvân* and monopolized the entire wealth of the province for themselves, the Porte took direct action to assert its position in Egypt. It asked the Ottoman governor of Syria, Cezzâr Ahmed Pasha, a former Mameluke in Egypt, for a report on conditions in Egypt and for his opinions concerning the military force and supplies that would be needed for a successful invasion. Cezzâr's report, *Nizâmnâme-i Mısır*, was submitted to the Porte in mid-July 1785. It gave a detailed description of the political and military conditions in Egypt and outlined a secret plan for the invasion. His recommendations were followed to the letter in the successful expedition of July 1786.

Cezzâr's report is Shaw's second book. The author has carefully translated and thoroughly annotated the report from the original copy in the library of the Top Kapı Saray, or Grand Seraglio, in Istanbul. It is "a unique and invaluable document for our understanding of the conditions in Egypt during the time of Ottoman rule. . . . It is of special importance for its description of hitherto vague aspects of the social state and administrative organization of eighteenth century Egypt, and for its explanations of previously undefined administrative terms." Shaw's two complementary books are a major contribution to Ottoman Turkish history.

Garden City, New York

ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER

- KING LEOPOLD'S CONGO: ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE CONGO INDEPENDENT STATE. By *Ruth Slade*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 230. \$4.80.)
- SENEGAL: A STUDY IN FRENCH ASSIMILATION POLICY. By *Michael Crowder*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 104. \$1.75.)

THE appearance of these two studies, the one dealing with a former Belgian possession and the other with a former French territory, illustrates once more the important contribution the Institute of Race Relations has been making to our knowledge of African history.

Ruth Slade's third published volume on the Congo concerns the development of relations between Africans and Europeans in King Leopold's African kingdom, 1885-1908. In addition to official publications and secondary works, Miss Slade utilizes archival sources upon which she based her earlier work, *English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State*. She draws upon a number of African oral traditions describing the Europeans who entered the Congo and

upon accounts by European travelers, traders, state agents, and missionaries. The skillful use of quotations from these several sources is a strong point of the book. After a description of relations between Africans and Europeans on the Congo coast from the arrival of the Portuguese in 1482, Miss Slade turns to the extension of European influence and control into the area of the Stanley Pool, the upper Congo, and the Katanga; to the foundation and rule of the Congo Independent State; and to the Arab problem and the Christian missions. A final chapter describes the conditions that led to the transfer of the Congo from King Leopold's control in 1908. Miss Slade shows how certain of the policies Belgium followed after 1908—highly centralized administration directed from Belgium, humanitarian intentions toward the Congolese yet exploitation of their country as a commercial enterprise to increase Belgium's well-being—were continuations of Leopold's policies. She has demonstrated that many of the seeds of the disaster of 1960 were sown during the Leopoldian era. By dealing skillfully and objectively with a subject on which existing works are either antiquated, incomplete, or biased, Miss Slade has provided us with a solid study of an important aspect of Congolese history. The book has useful maps and illustrations.

Michael Crowder's short study of Senegal focuses upon the tiny educated minority in the four communes that were the objects of France's vacillating and often contradictory policy of cultural and political assimilation. With skill he shows how this policy and the reaction to it in the form of the *négritude* concept and of desires for greater autonomy have helped to shape Senegalese politics and society in the past four decades. With perspicacity he describes the present relations between the forty thousand French in Senegal and the Africans, which have resulted from the assimilation policy. He fails, however, to explain sufficiently to what extent French policy is responsible for the continued absence of African participation in Senegal's economic life. Yet on the whole Crowder has produced a well-written short history of Senegal's political evolution and an incisive analysis of race relations not duplicated elsewhere in either French or English.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID E. GARDINIER

SOUTH AFRICA 1906-1961: THE PRICE OF MAGNANIMITY. By *Nicholas Mansergh*. With a foreword by *Watson Kirkconnell*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 104. \$3.50.)

THE COLONIAL RECKONING: THE END OF IMPERIAL RULE IN AFRICA IN THE LIGHT OF BRITISH EXPERIENCE. By *Margery Perham*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. 203, vi. \$3.95.)

THE authors of these two small volumes of reprinted and somewhat expanded lectures write in a humane and tolerant spirit. The "price of magnanimity," which Nicholas Mansergh describes, is in one sense a part of Margery Perham's "colonial reckoning." Jan Christian Smuts once called the gesture of Britain's Liberal

government, which restored self-government to the defeated Boer republics of the Transvaal in 1906 and the Orange Free State in 1907, a "miracle of trust and magnanimity." Using some of the British official papers just made available after the statutory fifty-year period, Mansergh concludes that the generous cabinet decision in 1906 was not a sudden impulse but a considered decision resulting from the Liberal thinking of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and others during "the long, lean years of opposition."

The price paid by English-speaking white South Africans and by all the non-white peoples under Afrikaner Nationalist governments is incompletely analyzed in two chapters. In a final chapter, the author attempts to balance the price of magnanimity against its rewards. He finds the reward in the precedent South African independence established for the independence of Ireland, India, and others, thus opening the way to "a Commonwealth in which British majority nations were a minority of the total membership." He acknowledges, however, that it is unrealistic to think of balancing the price of magnanimity against its rewards and concludes that the mistake was not Britain's Liberal "act of faith" but the failures of later South African leaders.

All students of Africa will be interested in reading Margery Perham's stimulating lectures in order to acquaint themselves with the personal philosophy of one of Britain's most distinguished Africanists. Deeply involved in African affairs throughout her life, Miss Perham felt "a wholly unexpected, almost physical shock" as she watched the Union Jack "flutter down the post" on independence day in Nigeria. Her deep sense of history enabled her to rally quickly, however, for she realized, as she watched the Nigerian flag rise, that "the incalculable force" of Nigerian energy and pride would support the new nation. One encounters throughout the book's six chapters these mixed reactions of the author: pride of empire and sympathetic understanding of the new nations of Africa.

High lights of the book include a perceptive account of how educated Africans reacted when they returned from overseas to the poverty of Africa; an analysis of indirect rule's early successes, and of its later failures to meet the needs of educated Africans; the view that Britain's "tardiness" in opening the civil service to Africans was "perhaps the most serious problem of the transfer of power"; the provocative suggestion that Britain grant compensation to white settlers who will be displaced when all of Africa reverts to the Africans; the author's acknowledgment of her own slowness, and that of the Colonial Office, in recognizing the swift pace of African political advance and the consequent need for greater efforts to promote political unity, notably in Nigeria and the Sudan, along with earlier "crash" education programs; and her judgment, which I share, that "Britain on the whole was the most humane and considerate of modern colonial nations in Africa."

In a final chapter on future prospects, two of the author's pleas are worthy of special note. She feels that South Africa is our "Achilles heel" because the new states of Africa will ultimately judge us less by the help we give them than by our

actions on behalf of the "cause of freedom" in a land where ten million Africans are bound so tightly that "not one, not the most educated or able, can escape to freedom or equality. . . ." At several points, moreover, she stresses to her countrymen the need for full cooperation with Americans in dealing with the new Africa. Her thoughtful views on these two points merit an affirmative response from Americans.

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VERNON MCKAY

ÉVOLUTION POLITIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD MUSULMANE,
1920-1961. By *Roger Le Tourneau*. [Collection "Sciences politiques."] (Paris:
Librairie Armand Colin. 1962. Pp. 503. 26 N. F.)

THIS assessment of Moslem political evolution in North Africa since 1920, written by a Frenchman with twenty-five years' experience as an administrator and professor in the Maghrib, is at once informative and disappointing. On the positive side, it marshals the data bearing upon the political evolution of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—Libya is omitted—into a meaningful story which, at times, contains deep and creative insights. This fine achievement is marred by an approach and viewpoint that can best be stated as the assumption that "si ce n'est pas français, ça n'existe pas."

The obverse of Moslem political evolution is the decline of French power and influence. This understandably bothers a man who had the honor of being arrested and deported by the Nazis. Professor Le Tourneau, although he knows much about the indigenous history and population of the Maghrib, seems to be predominantly interested in this area as an administrative domain of France. He views the problem wearing French administrative blinders. In his short bibliographical essay he mentions several studies, such as the work of Mme. Tillion, the fine anthropologist, which survey the problem in more humanistic terms, but these works do not seem to have influenced him. One misses the name Camus, the incisive statistics of the Maspétiol Report, the studies of Aron, or the International Red Cross reports on the camps in Algeria. Nor does one find the influence of the sensitive and intuitive studies of Franz Fanon, the man who had such tremendous influence upon the thought of many North African nationalists. Nouschi's careful study of the rural population of the Constantinois to 1919 probably appeared too late to be used here, and possibly this was true of Fanon's last book but surely not his earlier volumes. Le Tourneau finds it hard to say positive things about Douglas Ashford's work on Morocco or Lorna Hahn's study of North African nationalism.

No one can object to a French patriot's view of Moslem nationalism or Moslem patriotism; one simply has to recognize and evaluate it. In this connection, American troops in North Africa surely did, as Le Tourneau notes, reduce

French stature in Moslem eyes and contribute to various independence movements. They were also in general anticolonialist and quite free with their opinions. But they were not all ignorant of affairs in North Africa, and certainly it was not the American who invented the French colonial problem. Had not Anglo-American troops been in North Africa late in 1942, Algeria might not have stayed French until 1962, and French independence itself might have remained indefinitely compromised.

Le Tourneau understands that the turn of history's wheel since 1940 favored Moslem independence. He is correct in saying that one cannot be certain that Moslem nationalism would have been satisfied with the Blum-Violette proposal, which was scuttled. Possibly it was a missed opportunity. There is, however, a school of thought that recognized the inevitability of independence in Northwest Africa. To that school the real questions were: when and how much agony?

In allocating roughly 150 pages to each North African area and in carrying the story to 1961 the author has made a useful contribution. The earlier and comparable studies of C. A. Julien are more incisive and in closer touch with the nationalist literature—more conscious that the Maghrib is an Islamic entity. Le Tourneau's book is valuable as a statement representing the French administrative view of Moslem political evolution in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria since 1920.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

Asia and the East

OCHERKI ISTORII KITAIA: S DREVNOSTI DO "OPIUMNYKH" VOIN
[Survey of Chinese History: From Antiquity to the "Opium" Wars]. Edited
by *Shang Yüeh*. (Moscow: Oriental Literature Press. 1959. Pp. 578.)

THIS volume afforded Soviet Sinologists the opportunity to correct some of the errors, as they saw them, of their Chinese colleagues. As such, it is a valuable document within the context of the continuing Marxist analysis of Chinese history.

This is a Russian translation, published in 1959, of *Chung-kuo li-shih kang-yao* [An Outline of Chinese History], a textbook published in Peking in 1954 for the use of history students at the Chinese People's University. Shang Yüeh, Li Ju-jang, and Sun Tse-hsiang were among the group of historians who collectively wrote the volume. The text is divided into six chapters and covers Chinese history from the prehistoric age to the eve of the Opium War. The most interesting part of the volume is Shang Yüeh's note entitled "To Soviet Readers," written in March 1957, and the preface written by A. Filippov, one of the editors of the translation. Shang Yüeh informs his Soviet readers that thanks to the serious study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the achievements of Soviet historians, Chinese historians can now develop a new science of Chinese historiography. He admits that Chinese

historians have not yet sufficiently mastered Marxism-Leninism. Since its publication in China, his own book has been subjected to serious criticism, particularly in Shantung University, the Kuei-yang Pedagogical Institute, and Peking University. He also invites the criticism of Soviet Sinologists.

Filippov's preface is a reply to Shang Yüeh's request for Soviet criticism. He begins by criticizing the periodization scheme used by Shang Yüeh and his colleagues, and he cannot agree that the society of the Shang (Yin) dynasty was tribal. While some vestiges of tribal society may have been found in the Shang, Filippov maintains that archaeological and literary remains suggest that Shang society was already differentiated by class, "with rich and poor, with exploiters and exploited, with a state rising as a result of the disintegration of tribal society, intended to preserve the interests of the ruling class." This was the beginning of the period of slave society. According to Filippov, the question of the rise of feudal means of production in China is much more complicated. Soviet and Chinese historians are still debating this issue, he says, and "they have not yet reached full unity of opinion, though in any event their points of view are significantly coming together." Nevertheless, he dates the rise of feudalism to the second half of the first millennium B.C., more particularly in the third century B.C.

Filippov maintains that the history of the primitive commune in China receives too little attention in the book. Patriarchal-tribal communes were extremely strong in ancient China, and Filippov says that their influence extended into later periods.

In the Han dynasty, Filippov criticizes the Chinese evaluation of the usurper Wang Mang's reforms as "extremely categorical." While it is true, he admits, that Wang Mang's reforms were a reactionary attempt to obstruct the development of the Han dynasty, and particularly to obstruct the development of private ownership in land, they must be considered against the wider historical background. Wang Mang's reforms were based on the citation of the past, which served as the theoretical basis for specific measures. But his immediate aims and characteristics were only of secondary importance. The Han dynasty was an era of sharpening class conflict; Wang Mang's reforms were an attempt to prevent mass uprisings by making partial concessions to the peasants.

Finally, Filippov strongly supports criticisms already directed against Shang Yüeh in China for the idealization of certain historical figures. Although it is true, Filippov says, that in the early years of his reign Chu Yuan-chang carried out certain measures meant to alleviate the conditions of the masses, it must not be forgotten that at the same time he laid the foundations for a despotic power, "a dictatorship of the great landlords, a cast-iron plate weighing down both the peasants and the artisans, and even the merchants and petty landlords."

Harvard University

MARK MANCALL

LAW AND SOCIETY IN TRADITIONAL CHINA. By *T'ung-tsu Ch'ü*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, 1st Series. Études, Volume IV.] (Paris: Mouton and Co. 1961. Pp. 304.)

In recent years such Sinologists as A. F. P. Hulsewé (*Remnants of Han Law* [1955]) and Étienne Balazs (*Le traité juridique du "Souei-Chou"* [1954]) have stimulated new interest in the study of traditional Chinese law, and cooperative research projects are now in progress at several American universities to clarify further its history and characteristics. It is therefore especially valuable to have available now an English edition of a standard Chinese reference that has influenced, and must continue to influence, all such researches.

Professor Ch'ü, now at Harvard, here presents his own English rendering of his 1947 classic, *Chung-kuo fa-lü yü Chung-kuo she-hui*, only slightly revised. It is neither a history of Chinese law nor a history of Chinese society, but a detailed analysis of the interrelations between them. Most of the book deals, in topical analysis, with the legal aspects of family and class relationships. To these sections are added a brief consideration of the relatively unimportant magical aspects of Chinese legal thought and procedures and a discussion of the conflict between Confucian and Legalist attitudes toward government, out of which conflict the traditional legal system grew.

Ch'ü clearly and conclusively documents the traditional Chinese conception that law is an instrument for maintaining social order—a reflection of and a bulwark for traditional ethical and social values. His study reveals the almost complete lack of any notion in traditional China that law exists to protect individuals from arbitrary government or that it is sacred, objective, or impartial. His most important contribution, perhaps, is a detailed explanation of the legal ramifications of traditional class distinctions among an elite officialdom, commoners, and “mean” classes. This reveals, even more clearly than his treatment of the legal ramifications of family relationships, the ultimate ascendancy of the Confucian emphasis on *li* (proper behavior differentiated according to social relationships) over the Legalist emphasis on comprehensive laws and equality before the law.

Historians may quarrel with Ch'ü's explicit assumption “that the basic social and economic structure [in China] remained unchanged for about two thousand years”; with his somewhat traditionalistic and uncritical use of ancient texts (for example, his unquestioning use of *Li-chi* as a source for Confucius' thought); and his failure to note some relevant modern scholarship (for instance, Creel on Confucius, and Eberhard and Wittfogel on Chinese society). But all students of traditional China owe him a great debt for making readily available a wealth of important data in a well-organized and well-argued presentation.

Because it is technical, detailed, and heavily annotated, the book will be of most use to specialists in the Chinese field. Nonspecialists will find it slow going

but rewarding if they are not unduly deterred by a profusion of Chinese names and terms, many of which are not adequately explained for the uninitiated. An extensive bibliography and an index are provided.

Michigan State University Oakland

CHARLES O. HUCKER

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA. Volume IV, PHYSICS AND PHYSICAL TECHNOLOGY. Part I, PHYSICS. By *Joseph Needham et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xxxiv, 434. \$15.00.)

THIS volume, the fourth in a notable series that began in 1954, deals with physics and physical technology. Two additional parts, treating the same subject, are scheduled to appear later. Time only enhances our amazement at Needham's ability to discover in the ocean of datable Chinese literature so many anticipations of present-day scientific knowledge. Even his tentative speculations are as arresting as his conclusions. In their physical thinking, he says, the Chinese were dominated by the concept of waves rather than atoms. Nonetheless, they affirmed faith "in a world order, precise, clear, numerical, unvarying and repeatable, not vague and chaotic."

To pluck from such vast researches a few particulars does scant justice to the whole. Omitting all reference to such topics as mensuration, specific gravity, motion, and heat, we may cite a Chinese discovery in the field of combustion. Sulphur matches seem not to have existed in Europe before 1530, but a clear account of them appears in a Chinese work written about A.D. 950. "Magic" bronze mirrors that reflect from their polished faces the designs executed in relief on their backs are reported in a Chinese work of the fifth century, and a correct explanation of the phenomenon is given in a work of the eleventh century: namely, that it is caused by slight inequalities in curvature. Western investigators, after much speculation, reached the same conclusion fifty years ago.

In his detailed study of sound, particularly in tracing the two-thousand-year Chinese effort to find an even-tempered musical scale, Needham displays more than usual acuity. He cites documents showing that as early as the second century B.C. Chinese musicians approximated a tempered scale. The crowning achievement took place in 1584 when Chu Tsai-yü, son of the fourth Ming Emperor, published a book in which the formula for the equal-tempered scale was finally worked out mathematically. Needham conjectures that the solution was carried to Europe by some unknown traveler several decades later.

It is now established that geomancy, a much-maligned pseudo science, was the forerunner of Chinese experiments in terrestrial magnetism and their perfecting of the magnetic needle compass about A.D. 1080. This was a century earlier than the first mention of the compass in Europe. Already in the first century a load-stone, shaped in the form of a spoon to resemble the Big Dipper, was pivoted on diviners' boards to ascertain cosmic directivity. This, says Needham, "is the

ancestor of all dial and pointer readings and the greatest single factor in the voyages of discovery." By the third century a magnetized needle, first floating and later dry pivoted, was replacing the loadstone spoon. Declination, or failure of the needle to point to the astronomical north, was well known when the compass was invented. A table of such declinations in China from A.D. 720 to 1500 occupies a page of the book. The figures can be checked by periodic changes in alignments in ancient city walls. In conclusion, it is worth noting that the game of chess, whether it be traced to China or India, is given an astrological origin in divination by Needham. He affirms, too, that dominoes and playing cards were Chinese developments. Far from dismissing geomancy as "superstitious web-spinning," as all earlier writers on China did, he declares that its extensive literature merits serious study.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CHINA UNDER THE CH'ING. By *T'ung-tsu Ch'ü*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 9.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 360, l. \$9.50.)

DURING the nineteenth century a number of books and articles were written about the administration and government of China. The British and other foreign governments were interested in such questions because they had to deal with Chinese government agencies on all levels. These studies reflect the practical needs of the time and represent the view of the outsider. After a long interval, there is now a renewed interest in China's government in relation to general sociological theory. Scholars became interested in the study of comparative bureaucracies, composition of elites, interrelations between the common man and government. Ch'ü's book is a great step forward. With comprehensive knowledge of sources and with the insight of the insider, he has given us the first meaningful and reliable study of Chinese government "at the grassroot level." Some of the general principles, most of all the official rules determining such things as appointment, promotion, and qualification of local officials at the district level, had been known before. Ch'ü has studied the level below the local district magistrate: his staff of clerks and runners, his personal servants and secretaries. He gives details of administration of justice, taxation, public works, and social service, all of which were among the numerous duties of a district magistrate in China from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Finally, he explains the interrelations of the local gentry with the administration, the ways by which persons without office could influence the local administration, and the degree to which the efficiency of local administration depended upon the cooperation of the local gentry.

Among Ch'ü's important insights, some deserve special attention. Chinese officials were "gentlemen" with a classical, humanistic training, but without the slightest knowledge of or training in practical problems of administration, of law, of technology. Yet they were put in charge of courts, security, welfare, and build-

ing projects. For all such problems, they had to depend upon their personal staff, half-trained, often only half-educated secretaries with technical experience. Officials were sent into unfamiliar areas; often they could not even understand the local dialects. Here they depended completely upon local staff, clerks, runners, and servants. The official could be efficient only if he succeeded in checking his personal staff through the local staff, and the local through his personal, and only if he collaborated with the local gentry which was interested in a control of the local population, but not without checking the power of the local gentry through the power of his office and his staff. Such a system of checks and balances worked well if the total system, from the emperor down, functioned and if the official himself was controlled by the ministries.

Perhaps Ch'ü's picture is often too dark. He has paid great attention not only to giving the official regulations but also to showing how the system worked in practice. But texts tend to report irregularities and breakdowns more often than good administration. Statistical data for the degree of efficiency cannot be found, so that there must be reliance upon impressions. On the other hand, by studying the loopholes of a system, we get a better understanding of the functioning of the system. It would seem possible that some conclusions as to the varying degree of efficiency of the system of local administration could have been drawn if the author had attempted to order his data chronologically. In general, local administration seems to have worked better in the eighteenth than in the early nineteenth century.

Berkeley, California

WOLFRAM EBERHARD

SIRAJUDDAULLAH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1756-1757: BACKGROUND TO THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA. By *Brijen K. Gupta*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1962. Pp. xii, 170. Glds. 12.)
FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO. Volume VI, PUBLIC, SELECT, AND SECRET, 1770-1772. Edited by *Bisheshwar Prasad*. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1960. Pp. lxii, 519. Rs. 20.00.)

In the preface Mr. Gupta states that "The purpose of this monograph is to examine the background, the causes, the nature and the consequences of the conflict between the English company and the nawab of Bengal." He has made use not only of the three-volume collection, *Bengal in 1756-57* by S. C. Hill, but also of unpublished material in London in the Public Record Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, and the British Museum. His approach is shown by the titles of the six chapters preceding the conclusion: "The Growth of English Trade in Bengal," "The Growth of English Political Interest in Bengal," "Sirajuddaullah on the Offensive," "Sirajuddaullah on the Defensive," "The Establish-

ment of an English Protectorate over Bengal," and "Consequences of Sirajuddaulah's Defeat." The result is a short and competent analysis that will please neither the Colonel Blimps, who consider Sirajuddaullah the monster responsible for the Black Hole of Calcutta, nor extreme Indian patriots.

Gupta sketches the events of 1756-1757 against the background of the disintegration of the Mogul Empire, the growth of Maratha power, the constant invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, and the rivalry of the British and French. The treatment given the clash between Sirajuddaullah and the British is not a simple narrative but a careful analysis of the problems facing the British, the French, and the nawab in Bengal. The policies open to each of the three and the ones adopted are stressed. Gupta explains why Sirajuddaullah took each important step even though he does not attempt to justify every decision.

In conclusion, Gupta admits that he has not developed any revolutionary thesis, but believes he has shown the necessity of revising the commonly accepted version of the relations between the East India Company and Sirajuddaullah. He argues that once Clive had arrived in Bengal the nawab had little chance of avoiding either the Battle of Plassey or the results that followed because of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and the necessity the company felt of preventing a Franco-Bengali alliance and of establishing a nawab friendly to the British. Any chance Sirajuddaullah had of success was ruined by the invasion of Abdali and by the conspiracy in his own court. Even an alliance with the French would not have saved him because, in case of victory, they would have assumed control in Bengal as they had done earlier in southern India.

This is a useful monograph, and the conclusions are welcome antidotes to the interpretation by epithet, which characterizes some of the accounts offered by extremists. My criticisms are not on organization and interpretation, but on the number of misspelled words and incomplete sentences. Because the average reader has difficulty with Indian names and places, it is also regrettable that no index is provided.

Volume VI of the *Fort William-India House Correspondence* covers the years 1770-1772, dealing with Cartier's governorship of Bengal and the first year of the rule of Warren Hastings. This correspondence consists of letters and dispatches of the council and of the select committee of the government of Bengal to the court of directors in London and dispatches of this court to its representatives at Fort William. The introduction is well organized and can be read with profit by those who have only a general interest in this subject. The letters and dispatches of the council to the court deal in detail with almost every subject. But for those interested primarily in economic history, the establishment of the silk reeling industry by the company and the attempts to provide "investments" for exports to England are of the greatest value. The letters and dispatches of the select committee deal with the company's functions as "duannee" and with its relations with the country powers of India. Those of the court of directors show that, while the primary interest was still in dividends from trade and investment, it was

beginning to realize its responsibility for the people of Bengal. The clash between dividends and the welfare of the subject people had to be met.

This series is of great importance to students of Indian history who are unable to make use of the original manuscripts in Delhi and London, and it is hoped that publication of the remaining volumes will not be delayed too long.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

SAKAMOTO RYŌMA AND THE MEIJI RESTORATION. By *Marius B. Jansen*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 423. \$8.50.)
CHŌSHŪ IN THE MEIJI RESTORATION. By *Albert M. Craig*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 47.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 385, xxxix. \$7.50.)

EVER since the appearance in 1940 of E. H. Norman's *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*, the view of the Meiji Restoration as the work of disaffected "lower class samurai" backed by the moneybags of merchant capitalists has been accepted as the most sophisticated explanation of Japan's modern revolution. Despite the subsequent appearance of G. B. Sansom's low-key handling of the Restoration in his *The Western World and Japan*, a book that cautions against undue emphasis on class and economic motivation, Norman's thesis has consistently reappeared in the standard treatments of modern Japanese history of the last twenty years. These two new works, dramatically appearing in the same year, provide the elements of a major reinterpretation of the Meiji Restoration.

Jansen's book is built around the figure of Sakamoto Ryōma, one of the most fascinating though neglected of the young political activists (commonly called *shishi*) who brought about the Restoration. In his short but fiery career, Sakamoto ranged between the plotting of political violence to the operation of shrewd commercial ventures. While he did not live to witness the Restoration, he was one of the main catalytic agents in the political maneuvers that underlay the revolutionary politics of the pre-Restoration era. Sakamoto's career is an interesting variation on those of his more fortunate associates who outlived the sword-swinging days of direct action to become the bearded statesmen of a new Japan. Still at his fencing academy in Edo when Perry's black ships appeared off the city, Sakamoto had boasted that he would return home with a severed foreign head. Later vowing to assassinate one of the most outspoken advocates of Westernization in Japan, he experienced a complete change of heart and instead became the man's foremost follower. Before his death he had formulated a plan to reorganize Japanese government on principles of unity based on regional representation.

Through Sakamoto, Jansen has given us a vivid picture of the uncertain course of Japanese politics from 1853 to 1868, a time when policy seemed to zigzag from one assassination to another. Yet in the end when the trauma was over, it could

be seen that Japan had carried out a remarkably purposeful surge toward national unity. In his analysis of the *shishi*'s career pattern Jansen gives a masterful account of the manner in which leadership passed from the first irrational and often contradictory actions of the obscurantist loyalists to the final emergence of the enlightened leaders of a united Japan. For all their seeming revolutionary character, the activists gave to Japan in those critical years a degree of loyalty and devotion to national interest that was to preserve the country's integrity against the threat of Western encroachment.

Craig's book tackles a more diffuse problem, but in a way that closely complements Jansen's. His effort is largely to comprehend the behavior of the daimyo territory of Chōshū in the Restoration movement, a task calling for wide forays into problems of territorial government, administrative and economic policy, social structure, and intellectual movements set in a regional context of nearly a million inhabitants. Craig starts with a structural analysis of the territory's political and economic institutions, building up the sense of urgency that affected local leaders as they grappled with the economic crisis of the 1840's. Craig's Chōshū is anything but a clod of feudal soil. By the time of the appearance of the black ships Chōshū was alive with leaders (both conservative and radical) ready to risk their lives either to drive the foreigner from Japanese soil or to work for the acquisition of Western arms in order to meet the foreign menace with its own instruments.

Craig's work parallels that of Norman. At every point he writes with a revisionist pen. He sees the early economic reforms of the Tempō era, the subsequent struggles between domain factions, and the eventual build-up of new armed forces less the product of a self-conscious, discontented lower samurai element than the result of a complex and often unpredictable interplay of conservatism and radicalism unrelated to problems of social class tension or economic dissatisfaction. Against Norman's contention that Chōshū won its military encounter with the Bakufu by virtue of the antifeudal nature of its new military forces, Craig places the fortuitous purchase of seven thousand Western rifles. Against a view that Chōshū higher leadership was incapacitated by factionalism, Craig suggests that the very possibility of swinging from faction to faction gave Chōshū the flexibility needed to adapt successfully to the changing conditions and political opportunities of the pre-Restoration era.

Jansen and Craig have not only deepened our understanding of the Meiji Restoration; they have provided us with some good reading. Jansen's smooth narrative style gives a delightful, often exciting, portrayal of a period in terms of intimate insights into the leading figures of the day. Craig's writing is more structured and analytical, yet it bristles with intriguing insights and provocative asides drawn from a variety of theoretical sources ranging from Max Weber to Talcott Parsons. Both authors handle Japanese source materials effortlessly.

What will the next generation of textbook writers make of the revisions that these two works contain? The Restoration will have to be explained in terms of a

multiplicity of causes and conditions, a balanced interpretation of the strengths and weaknesses of the old regime and of the pressure points touched by the West. For Jansen, the *shishi* are complicated individuals reacting less to class or economic interests than to personal, local, and national interests. Craig concludes paradoxically that the Restoration and the radical reforms following it were successful in large part because of the very strength of the traditionalist biases of the Restoration leaders and the resiliency of the traditional institutions through which they drove to power. Both writers agree that Japan in the 1850's was a country beset with political and economic problems, yet the elements of revolution were not present. But once the fear of Western interference was upon them, the Japanese reacted vigorously. For both the individual and the larger political unit in Japan, initial reaction was often based on traditional interests and values, and yet the desire for security never was so blind that the leadership could not adapt to the military and later political technology of the West. This fascinating interplay between traditionalism and reform underlay the strength of the Japanese response to the West and has proved elusive to the historian who would explain the Restoration.

Yale University

JOHN WHITNEY HALL

FROM THE MARCO POLO BRIDGE TO PEARL HARBOR: JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR II. By *David J. Lu*. Foreword by *Herbert Feis*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961. Pp. viii, 274. \$4.75.)

PREOCCUPATION with the nagging question of how Japan and the United States got themselves involved in a long and costly war with each other at a time when both were concerned primarily with military dangers on other fronts has induced a number of historians to probe into the complex international problems of the pre-Pearl Harbor years. All have had access to a vast amount of documentary material, but Professor David Lu has produced the most penetrating and convincing analysis. In examining carefully a wide range of evidence, he has made a conscientious effort to understand the motivation of leaders and groups and has approached each problem with remarkably few preconceived notions about what was inevitable or who was to blame. With a refreshing absence of theories about plots and villains—even Tojo, Matsuoka, and Wang Ching-wei begin to appear as understandable political figures, and no country is shown to be consistently righteous or wicked—the author arrives, cautiously and methodically, at conclusions that have the ring of truth.

In moving toward a more meaningful set of answers, Lu forces us to re-examine, if not reject, some rather firmly established ideas about what caused the war. We will no longer be quite so certain, for example, that everything hinged on Japan's decision to ally itself with Germany and Italy in the Tripartite Pact. Seemingly the pact was never considered an "offensive weapon" against the United States: "Even if Germany had entered into a state of war against the

United States, Matsuoka would have insisted on Japan's right to decide independently whether it would come to Germany's aid." The alliance was both a product and an irritant of tension over more fundamental issues.

At the heart of Lu's analysis stands the problem of China. By 1941 even the Japanese army would apparently have welcomed an arrangement that would have permitted it to withdraw most of its troops "with honor." But Japanese leaders were convinced that to satisfy the United States on this question would have resulted in the upsurge of anti-Japanese nationalist pressures in China, or Communist penetration of North China and Manchuria, or the return to China of domination by Western powers. And as the Japanese became more determined to retain their hold on China, the Americans came to insist more strongly that all Japanese troops be removed.

A related issue was American economic sanctions, particularly the embargo on oil shipments to Japan. When the supply of oil was cut off, the Japanese navy, which had been consistently opposed to acts that might lead to war with the United States, demanded a clear-cut decision, by a definite date, on the question of war or peace with the United States. The navy estimated that it had only enough oil on hand to carry out active naval operations for a year and a half, and it therefore concluded that if diplomatic negotiations were permitted to drag on it would be reduced to impotency.

From the Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor is essentially a study of Japanese foreign policy during the four-year period between the outbreak of war with China and Pearl Harbor. But by focusing the analysis upon such issues as China and American economic sanctions, the author forces the question of "Japan's entry into World War II" out into the wider reaches of the international tangle. While his emphasis is upon the economic, political, and military interests of Japan and while he stresses the significance of the rigidity of its political structure and the intensity of its national feeling, he is obviously aware that actions by other countries were often decisive. It is therefore likely that other scholars will improve upon Lu's study only if, with equal ability and care, they extend their investigation to policies followed by all Allied and Axis powers.

University of California, Berkeley

DELMER M. BROWN

COMMUNIST CHINA 1955-1959: POLICY DOCUMENTS WITH ANALYSIS. Foreword by *Robert R. Bowie* and *John K. Fairbank*. [Prepared at Harvard University under the joint auspices of the Center for International Affairs and the East Asian Research Center.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 611. \$10.00.)

BECAUSE of the secrecy shrouding the Peking regime, students of Chinese Communism must rely on published policy documents as their main sources of

information. There is a need for collections of documents, carefully selected and linked by interpretive essays which explain their significance and their impact on the course of events. For domestic policies in the period 1955-1959, this need is satisfied by the present volume. The sponsors explain that it was developed by an anonymous visiting fellow of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. They assure us that the author-editor has had unusual background and experience for a work on this subject and period, which begins with 1955—a year that, according to the author-editor, witnessed a shift in the thinking of the top leaders. Until the summer of 1955, the majority of the Central Committee was genuinely adhering to the often proclaimed principles of “gradualness” and “voluntariness.” But in July 1955 Mao called for an acceleration of the tempo of collectivization. This was followed in 1957 and 1958 by the adoption of the general line of building socialism by achieving “greater, faster, better, and more economical results,” the beginning of the “great leap forward,” and the launching of the people’s communes. This shift in line toward a radical approach to economic reconstruction markedly increased the tension between the Central Committee and those who abided by the “gradual” and “voluntary” method. The Communist leaders themselves dated the appearance of “rightist” and “conservative” elements within the party from June 1955. The author-editor gives a careful and detailed account of the opposition between the Central Committee and the “rightists” as this tension was reflected in the various documents. In his opinion, the Eighth Party Congress of September 1956 marked the greatest influence of the “rightists” within the party. After the summer of 1957, the supporters of a radical line became dominant.

The bearing of intraparty dispute on domestic policies during this period was first discussed by Roderick MacFarquhar in a perceptive article published only seven months after Liu’s speech launching the “great leap forward.” In 1960 Harold Hinton brought the analysis up to date and developed it with greater formal elegance and factual details. Both MacFarquhar and Hinton describe Chou En-lai and Liu Shao-ch’i as the top leaders of two opposing factions. The author-editor of this volume differs from MacFarquhar and Hinton in his refusal to discuss the major differences of policy in terms of opposition between the leading members of the Central Committee. Instead, he treats the intraparty differences as occurring between the Central Committee and the lower levels rather than within the Central Committee itself. He concludes that the “rightist” opposition cannot force any great change of policy on the Central Committee and that “the most that is likely to happen is that emphasis will gradually be altered, the rightist clothes will be stolen piece by piece and there will be a slow moderation of the Party’s policy on the internal front.” Recent events seem to be bearing him out.

University of Chicago

TANG TSOU

Americas

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY: A HISTORY. By *Fredrick Rudolph*. [Knopf Publications in Education.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. xii, 516, xxxvii. \$6.75.)

SERIOUSNESS about education in America encourages a matching effort in historiography. Although ten years may pass before a corpus on the history of education accumulates which will match accumulations we are familiar with, in, say, literary history and church history, even now we are better off than we realize, and the 1960's have already delivered new works that are conspicuous for breadth and depth. Professor Rudolph's full-length survey of college and university history will be located on our shelves near Cremin's *Transformation of the School* (1961), Hofstadter and Smith's *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (1961), and Bailyn's essay in historiographical criticism and suggestion, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (1960). Also nearby on the shelves, bearing dates over the last quarter century, is a crop of institutional and topical histories, not numerous but highly effective: Morison's volumes on Harvard, Curti and Carstensen's on Wisconsin, Pierson's on Yale, Hofstadter and Metzger's on academic freedom, to name the weightiest. Historians cannot be charged with having waited for Sputnik or the Ford Foundation to incite them to earnestness. One imagines, however, that stimulations of the 1950's account largely for our fluctuation from being specially concerned with particular institutions and problems of education to being specially concerned with comprehensive phases of its history.

Appropriately disclaiming any intention to do a definitive work, Rudolph asks the question, "How and why and with what consequences have the American colleges and universities developed as they have?" He writes as a national historian, aware of colonial, state, and federal policies, and regional differences, finding them to have many bearings; he stresses that the private institutions have historically been less private and more public than they often acknowledge. As the author of *Mark Hopkins and the Log* was sure to be, he is uncommonly informed, witty, and detached about the colonial and nineteenth-century colleges. He greets the modern universities with enthusiasm as they enter his story. Presidents D. C. Gilman and A. D. White seem to be his heroes; he pays a disrespect or two to Presidents C. W. Eliot and D. S. Jordan. In a sweeping way he recognizes the scope, creativity, practicality, and democracy of the western state universities. Unfortunately he does not develop their story in proportion to their age and achievement. He does no justice at all to the teaching institutes of science and technology. The mentions he makes of Rensselaer and Massachusetts Institute of Technology indicate that he did not mean to exclude them by definition; California Institute of Technology receives no mention.

The treatment in depth is less comprehensive and less interesting than

that in breadth. The omission of William Livingston and of John Adams' service to Harvard in 1779, from the chapter on "The Legacy of the Revolution," reduces the significance of that subject. Again, though there is discussion, from period to period, of typical and prevailing curricula, and though the nineteenth-century difference between the rigidities of the colleges and the freedom of the new universities is pointed out, what the important curricula meant, spiritually and intellectually, is one of the facets of Rudolph's "with what consequences" question that remains unanswered.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL ECONOMY, 1775-1815. By *Curtis P. Nettels*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume II.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. Pp. xvi, 424. \$7.50.)

THIS volume is a useful addition to the general economic history of the United States. The treatment is systematic, scholarly, and factual; the whole is clearly and well written, an admirable synthesis of the voluminous specialized literature covering the period. Carefully documented throughout, the volume concludes with an excellent forty-page, briefly annotated bibliography and an inadequate index.

In organization and arrangement, *The Emergence of a National Economy* follows fairly closely the conventional pattern of economic history texts. Three of the fifteen chapters are largely devoted to the economy during the two wars treated, two each to the problems of economic adjustment following independence and to the economies of the Constitution and the first federal administrations. Of the remaining eight chapters, three deal with population trends, agricultural settlement and pioneering, and the southern plantation economy; three with foreign trade and transportation; and one each with industry and business.

The treatment is in the main descriptive rather than analytical or interpretive. It reflects the nationalistic and ideological bias that we take for granted in our own historical writings, however much we deplore it when exhibited in nations that do not share our institutional predilections. No overarching thesis is advanced; no grand illumination of familiar materials from a new viewpoint is afforded. A theme appears to be announced in the title and is briefly referred to in two chapter titles and some brief references in the text and editorial foreword. Nowhere, however, does the author make explicit what this emerging national economy is and in what significant respects it differs from the colonial economy, save in regard to the changed character of the central government and its policies. The economic consequences of war and independence as described here hardly add up to an economy significantly different in structure, functioning, and dynamics from that of the mid-eighteenth century. War and independence brought less a change of direction or a shift in the locus of power than an acceleration of

earlier trends and a strengthening of the business and propertied groups (it would be un-American to say classes) who, for all the fanfare of Beardian revisionism, are shown by the author to have been the chief beneficiaries of independence and the new federal system. If these were the years when "the national commitment to private accumulation and enterprise" mentioned in the foreword took place, the evidence of this commitment is not presented in the text, unless the movement for the Constitution and its adoption are to be so interpreted.

The economy emerging in ever clearer outlines during the forty years covered by this volume is, in my opinion, much less significantly a national economy than a market economy. Save for the two excellent chapters dealing with settlement, land policy, and pioneering, Nettels' study is devoted almost wholly to describing the proliferation and extension of the market economy and its varied institutions. It would, I believe, gain much in clarity and meaningfulness if organized explicitly about this economy and the activities of the business class that animated and directed it. There seems, moreover, to be scant justification for a treatment that gives such limited attention to the economic behavior, interests, and attitudes of the great majority of the American people, a self-sustaining agricultural population having slight and incidental contact with the market place. Through sheer weight of the enumeration and description of the multifarious activities and institutions of business enterprise (and the failure to apply per capita yardsticks to otherwise impressive mercantile statistics), the economic anxieties, hopes and fears, the drives and preconceptions of the masses are largely lost to view.

Between the subsisting masses and the dynamic market economy, managed by businessmen and fostered by government, there is a void not adequately bridged by the occasional brief references in the text. The relationships between rural rank and file and the mercantile-business community, portrayed so incisively in Nettels' *The Roots of American Civilization* (1938), here receive slight and incidental attention.

American University

LOUIS C. HUNTER

THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Benjamin Quarles*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xiii, 231. \$6.00.)

NEGRO participation in the American Revolution and the importance of the Revolution in marking "out an irreversible path toward freedom" for the Negro are the twin themes of this volume. In his treatment of the former, Quarles casts some light on a shadowy and esoteric corner of the history of the Revolution. The possibilities of exploiting slave discontent in the southern colonies were not lost on the British. In 1775 Dunmore tried to woo slaves of Virginia patriots to the royal banner by promises of freedom, and in 1778 the presence of the slaves was a

factor in the British decision to shift their main theater of operations to the South. Patriots saw in these actions just another item in the catalogue of grievances against Britain. Although unwillingness to encroach upon the property rights of slaveowners and fear that arming Negroes might invite slave revolts caused both national and state governments to exclude Negroes from American forces early in the war, a number of factors, including a serious manpower shortage, quickly led to the breakdown of this policy in the states from Maryland northward. Both sides had large numbers of Negroes in their forces, the patriots perhaps as many as five thousand, and also used them extensively as laborers, spies, messengers, guides, servants, and, in the case of the Americans, money to finance the war or to secure enlistments. At the end of the war, the British took thousands of slaves with them, and the demand of southerners for compensation was a major question in postwar negotiations with Britain.

Quarles handles his second theme, the contribution of the Revolution to Negro freedom, less successfully than he does the first. To be sure, the Revolution resulted in some concrete gains for Negroes. Many secured their freedom by serving in British or American forces, some Negro leaders of minor distinction began to appear, and the interaction between revolutionary idealism and earlier humanitarian impulses resulted in an abolitionist movement and in the prohibition of the slave trade and, eventually, of slavery itself in the northern colonies. That these gains indicated an "irreversible commitment of the new nation to the principles of liberty and equality" that would ultimately include the Negro, as Quarles concludes, is by no means certain, however. Indeed, that conclusion would seem to depend more upon the author's own commitment to the Whig view that history is the story of man's inevitable march toward progress than upon any solid body of evidence. Although such a conclusion may appear justified in retrospect, it tends to magnify the actual gains made by the Negro during the Revolution and to minimize both the importance of later developments and the powerful interests, customs, and prejudices that combined to keep the Negro unfree for nearly another century and unequal down to the present.

More serious are the problems that arise from the limitations of both the evidence and the subject. Although he has done impressive and thorough research, Quarles has gathered little evidence from Negroes themselves. For the most part inarticulate and anonymous, they left few written records. Having to depend largely upon circumstantial evidence, the author has been unable to achieve a satisfactory explanation of Negro motivation. Moreover, because the Negro's role in the Revolution was minor, the book is necessarily episodic and only a marginal contribution to the literature of the Revolution. Of somewhat more importance to the history of American Negroes, the book has the virtues of clarity and lack of pretense.

Western Reserve University

JACK P. GREENE

THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON. Volume I, 16 MARCH 1751–16 DECEMBER 1779; Volume II, 20 MARCH 1780–23 FEBRUARY 1781. Edited by *William T. Hutchinson* and *William M. E. Rachal*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xlii, 343; xix, 343. \$10.00 each.)

GREAT men's *juvenilia*, like nineteenth-century novels of character, can entertain and enlighten. Both also can gratify the reader with a sensation of unique prescience. Eyes opened by hindsight and inexplicably sharpened by insight delight to perceive in the unconscious and trivial outpourings of youth an image that is father to the man, the key to the puzzle. Not so with James Madison. Seekers of the inner man will find these two volumes unrewarding, unrevealing, and uncommonly dull. The flat surface of the personality that comes down through this record derives not from inborn reticence or missing letters; Madison, whom childhood did not become, plainly came into focus—became recognizable as James Madison—only under the pressure of adult responsibility and after the world had made its demands upon his remarkable but unobtrusive talents.

Where the papers reveal most of Madison as a private person, from his arrival at Princeton in 1769 to his entry into public life as a delegate to the Virginia Convention in May 1776, they are of least interest and of least importance. Madison the student developed his invaluable capacity to go straight to the point and to express it accurately and succinctly. He began the reading that made of his mind a storehouse on which he drew in 1787. And he wrote mildly scatological verse, which was a mistake. Back at home from Princeton in 1772, he gave every evidence of being a conventionally pious rather sentient young man obsessed with his health and, except for incidents of religious suppression, which he abhorred, little interested in the world about him. When the fever of revolution finally overtook him, he proved to be less a radical than an undifferentiated young gentleman responding to radical opinion in the usual way. Mild little Jamie, a member of the Orange County committee of safety, considered tar and feathers too good for laggards; he saw traitors everywhere and was only too ready to believe Benjamin Franklin guilty of treason. Then in 1776 he went to Williamsburg, and something happened. The private, commonplace Madison recedes and virtually disappears from these pages, and the papers become largely the unadorned record of a rare intelligence operating upon questions of public concern.

As Madison moves into the convention that drafted Virginia's first constitution, ratified George Mason's declaration of rights, and served as the state's first legislature, and from here goes to the council of state and then in 1780 on to the Continental Congress, his letters and public papers reflect, without explaining, the growing powers and deepening perceptions of this creative politician. When he argues that the value of a government's currency depends as much upon intangible public confidence as upon the mechanics of supply and demand, or that Congress by its "voluntary relinquishment" of its power to emit money has wrought a

“total change” by which Congress is made “as dependent on the States as the King of England is on the parliament,” we see in embryo his two most important contributions to American statecraft: an unrivaled understanding of the relationship of economics to politics and a precise conception of the necessary dimensions of central power. The difficulties met with by Congress in 1780 and 1781 in its efforts to cope with inflation and interstate conflict over the disposition of western lands confronted Madison for the first time directly with manifestations of the central political problem of this crucial if not critical decade. The Revolution engaged his mind in an object worthy of it; the unique opportunity to create a nation drew forth what he had to give. Of all his generation, shy and wizened Madison perhaps owed most to the Revolution, would have transplanted to an earlier or later age least well. The country’s good fortune in having Madison when it did was Madison’s as well.

The editors of the two initial volumes of the projected twenty have supplied the definitive record of Madison’s first thirty years. Volume I begins with the record of the birth and baptism of James Madison, Jr., and Volume II with a letter to his father reporting his safe arrival in Philadelphia to attend Congress in 1780. Included are all extant letters by or to Madison and all his other writings (except copy work), papers directly relating to Madison, and extensive samples of work done by committees and boards while Madison was a member. For the time span covered, the two volumes provide a guide to the externals of Madison’s life, a record of his work and thought, and an introduction to his times. The value of the new edition can be appreciated when it is noted that of the material in Volume I, Gaillard Hunt, whose edition this supersedes, included only fifteen of thirty-seven letters written by Madison, and some of these are inaccurately or incompletely transcribed and some misdated. Biographer Irving Brant, it is true, consulted most if not all these documents, but one reason for publishing a man’s papers is to provide means for going behind the interpreter directly to the man while retaining the advantages of the interpreter’s guidance and insight.

If the editors had stopped with presenting the text of the papers, it would have been work well done and worth doing. But it would have been thin fare indeed. Madison’s unconcern for the random world, his consistent tendency to let the concrete, the tangible, the specific, the personal, pass unnoticed and unnoted if not immediately relevant to matters of moment drains his early letters of interest and makes them peculiarly uninformative. With patient skill the editors have tracked down, identified, and explained persons, places, relationships, books, issues, and events only mentioned or barely alluded to so that the footnotes not only supply the spice of small talk so notably lacking but also constitute an extended excursion into the byways of revolutionary Virginia. For one of many examples of painstaking and imaginative research, see “Snodgrass (John or William),” page 30, note 87. Julian Boyd’s approach to the editing of the Jefferson papers is one of elegant restraint, which is exactly right, but Madison’s editors were astute enough

to know that this would not do for their man. The richness of the documentation gives these two volumes a distinction they would not otherwise have and provides relief in many an arid stretch.

Rice University

W. W. ABBOT

THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series I, DIARIES. DIARY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN ADAMS. Volume I, DIARY 1755-1770; Volume II, DIARY 1771-1781; Volume III, DIARY 1782-1804, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, Part I, TO OCTOBER 1776; Volume IV, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, Parts II and III, 1777-1780, INDEX. Edited by *L. H. Butterfield et al.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xcvi, 365; x, 458; xiii, 449; x, 403. \$30.00 the set.)

THESE four volumes are the auspicious heralds of a major feat in American historical scholarship. They promise the publication in as many as one hundred volumes of the literary records of John Adams, John Quincy Adams, and Charles Francis Adams. That there is no greater family treasure house than the Adams Papers we have suspected from Professor Bemis' magistral biography of John Quincy Adams and the ten volumes of *The Works of John Adams* which were published more than a century ago by Charles Francis Adams, but these magnificently edited volumes more than fulfill our highest hopes. Mr. Lyman Butterfield and his associates have set standards of editorial judgment and care that would have met with the satisfaction of the three principal Adamses.

During the current decade we can anticipate an abundant harvest of such historical source material. Through the collaborations of many scholars, universities and university presses, foundations, and publications, the papers of Jefferson, the Adamses, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, Clay, Calhoun, and Wilson will all be appearing in generous measure. There is no precedent for the simultaneous appearance of so many publications so vital to historical research and public understanding of our past. In this instance we are heavily indebted to the Adams family, the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard University, the Harvard University Press, and *Life* magazine. All too often cooperative research dulls scholarly design and enfeebles clear understanding, but in this enterprise all of the participants give mutual support and strength to the undertaking. Butterfield never ceases to be the unencumbered helmsman. His introduction in Volume I is a literary model for any archival publication.

The chronicle inaugurated in these four volumes will stretch from 1755, when John Adams began his diary entries, until 1889, when the widow of Charles Francis Adams died. In full justice the editors could have included the brilliant triumvirate of the fourth Adams generation—Henry, Brooks, and Charles Francis II, whose productive careers stretched into World War I, but this would add several dozen more volumes to the series and place too heavy a mortgage on the time and energies of even these discerning editors.

The Adams family was extraordinary not only for the continuity of its achievement but also its diversity. Among them were two Presidents, a Secretary of the Navy, an industrialist, two authors, a diplomat, yet none is remembered for a single or even one dominant vocation. Among them also were lawyers, controversialists, authors, scholars, sailors. And each, as Butterfield stresses, had a special concern to foster links between government and learning. For the two Presidents particularly, their wives were intimate and memorable collaborators, and both Abigail and Louisa Catherine Adams will make important entrances of their own in these pages.

Such a recital of the Adams legacy is surely intimidating. To realize that John Adams wrote his three volumes of the *Defense of the Constitution* while on diplomatic assignment or to trace his relentless mastery of many different strands of law is awesome. Yet reading John Adams' own words and observations gives some reassurance. That Adams had considerable self-esteem and a strong propensity to self-justification is unmistakable. But the diary and autobiography do not leave an image of narrow conceit and severe austerity. There is at the same time his generous hospitality to new experience and ideas, a sharp eye for detail and color, considerable anecdotal leaven (only sometimes accidental). Though lacking much sense of style and rarely venturing into eloquence, Adams conveys honesty, tenacity, and pungent good sense. Adams was clearly less urbane and self-assured than Jefferson, but he is far from giving a disembodied and soulless impression. He had no markedly aesthetic nature and sometimes did not feel intuitively overtones of a new situation, but this was compensated by the honest directness of his reactions. If one doubts Adams' capacity to respond to the real world, one can find in these pages such delightful interludes as his accounts of his first ocean voyage, a trip across Spain on mule, or a night spent in 1776 with Franklin in a small room furnished with but one bed.

The absorbing interest of these papers derives, however, from the very fact that John Adams, as the Adams family, had so many facets and can be seen in so many perspectives. As Butterfield points out, Adams was a complicated man "endlessly curious about himself and all that went on around him, and who was at the same time endowed with an unsurpassed gift for idiomatic and noblest language." Just as he felt society and government must be assessed critically and with full appreciation of the power and influence of irrationality, so he constantly set himself and his own actions against stern tests of rectitude and performance. This constant self-analysis combined with an underlying self-esteem was not debilitating but a prod to fresh achievement. This ability to blend private life and public activity, reflection and practical action, conscience and courage was for Adams a liberating force. His diaries became not a mere exercise in self-portraiture, but a faithful re-creation of an age. From all the clues that the editor gives us we can expect to have a genuine historical chronicle, not mere biographical vignettes, in all the volumes to follow. Happily, within the next year we shall possess the first two volumes of the family correspondence and the diary of

Charles Francis Adams, and soon thereafter the documentary record of John Adams' legal career.

Not only are we grateful that the Adamses have been such indefatigable conservationists of all they have written and recorded; we are thankful, too, that the Adamses themselves have been so precious and endlessly renewable a natural resource.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume III, 1782-1786; Volume IV, JANUARY 1787-MAY 1788. Edited by *Harold C. Syrett*. *Jacob E. Cooke*, Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 745; xii, 745. \$12.50 each.)

THE record of Hamilton's career which, when completed, will embrace some seventeen thousand letters, reports, speeches, essays, personal memoranda, and incidental items in illuminating variety continues. The material in these two volumes covers the period January 1782 to May 1788. Volume III includes his service under Robert Morris as receiver of continental taxes for New York, his first term in the Continental Congress, organization of the Bank of New York, and his part in the Annapolis Commercial Convention, besides the lesser public assignments and his notable advocacies through the year 1786. Volume IV commences with his efforts in the New York Assembly, carries him through the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, and concludes with those of *The Federalist Papers* considered by the editors, after elaborate examination of the evidence, to be attributable to Hamilton. Interspersed with these signal contributions to American history are the private letters from and to Hamilton, and briefs and memoranda that reveal the man, lawyer, husband, father, and friend. A feature of Volume III is publication of his cashbook (1782-1791) in which personal items occur along with accounts of his legal clients. Here also his "Notes on the History of North and South America" are identified as preparation for settlement of the land dispute between New York and Massachusetts, 1786, instead of belonging to his youthful jottings when a student in Elizabethtown in 1773.

This work is a pattern of comprehensive collection, exact printing, and scholarly annotation of what fell from Hamilton's pen and lips, together with other documents immediately concerning him. The more one knows of the sources of Hamilton's story the more delighted his admiration of the command with which Professors Syrett, Cooke, and their associates are presenting this definitive edition of the papers. They are to be praised not only for inclusiveness (easily said, but not accomplished in a day) and for their sharpness of definition, but also for their skepticism which has refused to credit all that partiality and plausible surmise have assigned to Hamilton's authorship. Besides enjoying this exhibit of Hamilton's thoughts and actions, and the bearing of principal figures of the day with whom he was in communion or conflict, the reader profits from a

lesson in expert compilation and illumination. These editorial bloodhounds—they will not object to the character—have got the scent of their man so fixed in their nostrils that they follow his coldest traces. They sweep in great circles, sniffing out finds in the most unlikely places.

The prefatory notes to the more important papers give full accounts of surrounding circumstances and treat the controversial questions that have engaged students. Thus the editors, in addition to pinning down dates, places of writing and first publication, and persons addressed, have supplied many guides for those wanting to explore Hamilton's life.

The years represented in these volumes, roughly from the end of the Revolution through the framing of the Constitution, were among Hamilton's best. It was then that he defined for himself and for others the problem of creating an American nation. Except for his running differences with Governor George Clinton, Hamilton was here devoted to constructive persuasion, mainly on political principles. Economic ways and means were always in his mind, but the practical application of these was reserved for his tenure in the Treasury. Also in the future was the bitter infighting of Washington's first cabinet. In the span of these volumes his energies were little wasted in mere friction. Determination had not become pugnacity. Confidence in himself was not marred by the resentful egotism that frequently appeared afterward. Patriotism was not entangled with hostilities of faction. Syrett has properly said that Hamilton was then at the peak of his powers. These volumes completely document his remarkable performance.

Hofstra College

BROADUS MITCHELL

THE AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP: INTERGOVERNMENTAL CO-OPERATION IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES. By Daniel J. Elazar. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 358. \$6.50.)

Most studies of American federalism hold the following views in common: the founding fathers established a system of government with dual or separate sovereignties, federal and state. They were to exist side by side, each virtually independent of the other. What was desired by the founding fathers was generally true in practice until sometime in the twentieth century. At that time, a new type of federalism emerged which broke down the traditional boundaries between the federal government and the states, thus changing dual federalism to cooperative federalism. As cooperation between the two levels of government has resulted in a vast broadening of the powers of the federal government, there has been a radical shift in what the American people view as the proper role of the national government.

Challenging these premises, Mr. Elazar argues that in practice dual federalism has never worked in the American past, that governmental activities have always been shared by the federal and state government in collaboration despite formal

announcement to the contrary. He builds his case by demonstrating a vast amount of cooperation between the federal and state governments during the nineteenth century in programs for social welfare, internal improvements, banking, and conservation.

If cooperative federalism is deeply ingrained in American tradition, why have virtually all theorists characterized the relations between the states and the national government as an experiment in dual federalism? Elazar resolves this problem by arguing that Americans in theory have been proponents of a federalism that defined a division of functions between governments as well as a division of governmental structures, or dual federalism. But in practice they have demanded a federalism with shared responsibilities by the federal and state government or a cooperative federalism.

Though the author adds much to our knowledge of the history of American federalism, I find it difficult to accept the view "that the relative balance between the federal government and the states has not significantly shifted over the past one hundred seventy-five years." Had he explored the history of more than four states (Virginia, New Hampshire, Minnesota, and Colorado) in depth, perhaps he would have observed more of a shifting of balance between the federal and state governments. But despite an overstatement of his basic theme, Elazar's study is an important and versatile one containing information on subjects that will interest a variety of scholars. Those historians who are interested in the relationship between the contemporary structure of American government and the American tradition will find this a most informative book. Moreover, it represents an important chapter in the growing literature which suggests that the development of American government was basically without theoretical guidelines.

University of Illinois

J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH

WASHINGTON. Volume I, VILLAGE AND CAPITAL, 1800-1878. By *Constance McLaughlin Green*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 445. \$8.50.)

"OUR future looks dark," wrote one Washington matron, anticipating the effect of the Civil War on her native city. By this date the Potomac site had already served for more than a half century as the nation's capital, but her words reflect the mood of the community throughout its early years, as *this mood* emerges from Constance Green's absorbing account of the first phase of the city's existence. Fear that the capital might be moved elsewhere in the nation or that it would suffer from war or economic disaster plagued Washingtonians from the turn of the century to the later 1870's. Only then did the city's future seem reasonably secure, as Congress committed itself to a building program which suggested that the federal offices were there to stay and enacted in 1878 a plan of local government which at long last promised honest and economical administration.

Mrs. Green brings to her biography of Washington not only the insights gained from long experience in the study of American cities but a facile (even anecdotal) style that invests the book with remarkable interest. Her admitted aim has been to write an interpretive study rather than a definitive, all-inclusive history of the city. Obviously, this approach can result in the omission of significant material, but it permits the personality and character of the city to emerge more clearly than they might amid more profuse detail. Much depends, of course, on the selection of themes and on their development, and here Mrs. Green exhibits a great deal of skill.

One pervasive theme is the evolution of the city as an urban entity. Despite the fact that Washington's origins as the federal capital differentiate it from other American cities, many aspects of its experience are seen to parallel those of American cities in general: the activities of speculators in the original disposition of town lots; the resort to subscription and the use of volunteers in the provision of urban services; the early reliance on commerce to underwrite economic growth, along with efforts to exploit the hinterland through the development of canals and, belatedly, railroads; and even the emergence of a "municipal boss" in connection with large-scale public improvements in the extravagant era following the Civil War. In its charter history, too, despite its peculiar dependence on the authority of Congress, Washington followed the pattern of other American cities until the postwar excesses of its government, in which Negroes participated after 1866, led to the substitution of a territorial and then a commission government in place of the more representative democracy that earlier had prevailed.

Another major theme deals with the social fabric of a community unique in its high per capita ingredient not only of federal dignitaries but also of free Negroes, who early assumed a responsible place in its society. Mrs. Green writes convincingly of the tensions that arose with the growing differentiation between permanent and transient residents; she is especially effective in tracing the deterioration of race relations, which followed the influx of runaway slaves during the Civil War and the efforts of the Reconstruction Congress to try out its reform legislation in the District of Columbia. Students of Reconstruction will find much of interest in the story of federal interference and Negro involvement that characterized municipal politics in these years. One could wish that Mrs. Green had dealt as fully with the play of politics in other periods of the city's history, for this is the one area in which her skillfully condensed narrative seems seriously inadequate. Some mayors and their programs receive due attention, but the municipal legislature and the sources of its strength almost never come alive in any systematic way, with the result that one rarely senses the political complexion of the community at large. It would seem important to know this even though Washingtonians lack a voice in national affairs.

New York University

BAYRD STILL

PRELUDE TO GREATNESS: LINCOLN IN THE 1850's. By *Don E. Fehrenbacher*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 205. \$4.75.)

AN elementary fact in American historical writing has been that few general historical interpretations remain unchallenged for very long and that the "revisionists" of one generation are certain to find themselves "revised" by the next. No period of American history demonstrates this as well as the Civil War era, where the word "revisionism" has assumed a special and precise meaning. With this sound and carefully reasoned study, Professor Fehrenbacher has joined the ranks of the "revisers" and has issued an effective challenge to the application of "revisionism" to Lincoln's prepresidential career. Fehrenbacher points out that "revisionism" (and he singles out such Lincoln scholars as Beveridge, Randall, Luthin, and Riddle as representatives of this school of thought) has tended to reduce Lincoln's stature in the 1850's and to confine his greatness to the presidential years. With this viewpoint he takes strong and determined issue; his supporting evidence is embodied in the seven essays in this book.

The author has not attempted a connected narrative of Lincoln's life in the 1850's, but rather has sought the answers to certain key questions concerning Lincoln's developing career. Substantial portions of four of the essays were originally published in other places; they have, however, been skillfully rewoven into an integrated study that is marked by a freshness of approach and an appealing sincerity. Following a discussion of the Illinois environment as a basic reason for Lincoln's emergence in the 1850's, Fehrenbacher treats Lincoln's role in the formation of the Republican party in Illinois, his nomination for United States Senator in 1858, the origins and purpose of the "House Divided" speech, the debates with Stephen A. Douglas, the "famous 'Freeport Question,'" and finally the nomination for the presidency in 1860. The fact that four of the essays deal with 1858 marks this as the key year in Lincoln's development.

Fehrenbacher's documentation reflects a careful and critical use of sources. As a result, he deals hard and convincingly with some of the myths and exaggerations that have become attached to Lincoln's prepresidential career. Armed with his evidence, he attacks "the folklore tradition of a simple rail splitter who became the Great Emancipator." He has, for example, laid to rest the oft-repeated story that Lincoln, in the interest of political expediency, deliberately remained aloof from the Republican party for two years after its organization. He has refuted the less significant, but nonetheless persistent, tale that Douglas' victory over Lincoln in 1858 was owing primarily to a gerrymandered legislative apportionment. Lincoln's decision to ask the "Freeport Question" and the significance of that question for national party politics have been reassessed in accordance with the facts of the case. The author questions the contention that Lincoln grew more conservative after 1858 and maintains that the conservatism of the 1860 Republican platform has been exaggerated.

Lincoln, the author concludes, began to demonstrate his greatness with the

repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. His political ambition thenceforth "was leavened by moral conviction and a deep faith in the principles upon which the republic had been built." These essays attest to the political skill with which Lincoln implemented this ambition. Not only has the author succeeded in "humanizing" Lincoln, but he has also restored to him some of the greatness he feels "revisionists" have been loathe to concede. Fehrenbacher is devoted to his subject. Perhaps this may explain why, at times in these pages, Lincoln seems to transcend the level of the politician to play the role of a self-appointed keeper of the national conscience. In assuming his high moral tone, Lincoln spoke with the ease of a man whose appeal was sectional in nature; skillful politician or no, it is difficult not to be impressed with Lincoln's isolation from the hard political realities of the situation in which he sought to operate.

To say that "this is not just another Lincoln book" would be to demean a significant contribution with a well-worn and meaningless cliché. This is an outstanding book; we need more like it.

University of Illinois

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

FAREWELL TO THE BLOODY SHIRT: NORTHERN REPUBLICANS AND THE SOUTHERN NEGRO, 1877-1893. By *Stanley P. Hirshson*. Introduction by *David Donald*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Pp. 334. \$6.95.)

TEXAS UNDER THE CARPETBAGGERS. By *W. C. Nunn*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1962. Pp. 304. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH northern Republicans abandoned the southern Negro in 1877 they continued to debate the question of Negro rights in the post-Reconstruction years. Some advocated a return to the old policy of federal interference in southern elections as a means of enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, and in order to win support for this program they played up the alleged frauds and violence of the southern whites. A few such Republicans acted out of genuine concern for the plight of the Negro, but most were motivated by a selfish desire to use the Negro vote as an opportunity to regain lost political power in the South.

Other northern Republicans opposed attempts to wave the bloody shirt and to agitate the race question. Mugwump reformers argued that Reconstruction had proven the folly of colored rule and that the Negro, ignorant and easily controlled by machine politicians, was not worth worrying about. More influential were powerful northern economic interests, merchants engaged in southern trade and eastern industrialists who reasoned that continued advocacy of Negro rights would ruin their profits in southern markets. They contended that if the Negro theme were dropped from politics southern high tariff advocates would join the Republican party for business reasons.

Stanley P. Hirshson has written the first full-length account of this well-known

controversy within the Republican party. Though in treating this subject he travels over much the same ground in much the same way as others before him, his contribution lies in the very detailed fashion in which he has analyzed this debate and the prominence he has given to the economic pressures upon Republican leaders to abandon the use of the bloody shirt. Yet at too many places the details are tedious and of little consequence. But more important, one might ask whether the Republicans did say farewell to the bloody shirt. Despite all the pressures and entreaties of the businessmen, Republican politicians freely waved the bloody shirt, both in their national platforms and on the hustings, in the election campaigns of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Sometimes, too, Hirshson makes too much of public statements and campaign speeches to indicate that there was a radical change of attitude on the part of Republican leaders, as in the case for example of President Hayes, toward the South.

W. C. Nunn has written a very detailed account of the four-year administration (1870-1874) of Edmund J. Davis, the carpetbag governor of Texas. It is a most important contribution to Reconstruction history, for by concentrating on this short and important period Nunn is able to provide a deeper and clearer understanding of what happened in Texas in the years following the Civil War. More than half the book concerns the political history of the Davis administration, but there are extensive and detailed sections on the economic picture of the carpetbag era, the Indian troubles on the frontier, and the social scene in Texas under the carpetbaggers. Nunn concludes that the most obvious characteristics of Davis' financial system were its increases in expenditures, in taxation, and in the public debt. "At that, however," writes Nunn, "although, it did not entirely escape dishonesty of state officials, Texas fared better than certain other Southern states, where theft was encouraged by carpetbag administrations."

Nunn has written a significant book that will be of great help to all who work in the field of Reconstruction history.

University of Notre Dame

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

FORMATIVE YEARS IN THE FAR WEST: A HISTORY OF STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA AND PREDECESSORS THROUGH 1919. By *Gerald T. White*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1962. Pp. xv, 694. \$7.50.)

THIS massive volume describes the beginnings of the petroleum industry in California and the growth of that state's Standard Oil Company. White devotes thorough, objective attention to each phase of the company's business. His research was exhaustive, and apparently few details gleaned from the investigation were omitted from the book.

Among the most important aspects of the company's history during the formative years were technical developments in production, refining, transportation, and distribution. White describes with admirable clarity such technical innovations

as the pipeline "water cure," the Starke high-pressure gas trap, and diamond drilling, and he relates the company's claim to establishing the first filling station.

An area of obvious interest is the relationship of the California company with the parent organization at 26 Broadway, New York City. White shows that the Californians were not reluctant to take a page from Rockefeller's book when dealing with railroads. Even after the ICC Act declared rebates illegal in 1887, the company managed "to maintain a preferred position." The book offers another view of the Rockefeller personality in the discussion of the impact on the company of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. Although the disaster had comparatively little effect on the company's activities, Rockefeller was keenly concerned with the human deprivation it occasioned. The day after the quake he authorized the expenditure of \$100,000 on the "homeless and destitute poor." He directed, moreover, that the funds be used to aid those without "powerful influences" working in their behalf and "who could offer no returns of any kind to anyone." The California company matched the parent's contribution.

After the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust in 1911, the western company stood second in the old family to the Jersey parent. The newly independent company of which Rockefeller was the largest stockholder acquired, as a result of the court action, "an enduring respect for the force of public opinion." One sector of public opinion the company consistently sought to please was its own employees. In fact, the old Standard monopoly, for all its anti-social economic behavior, usually maintained admirable employee relations. The California company prided itself on leading in higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Also, it was among the earliest to eliminate discrimination between salaried and wage employees by extending fringe benefits to the latter group.

White's volume bears favorable comparison to other oil company histories, such as those by the Hidys, Giddens, Gibb and Knowlton, Larson and Porter, and Beaton. Yet it shares their common weakness: excessive detail. Here are more facts than any but the most dedicated student of the company would want or need to know. Authors of company histories should strive to place their stories in the proper social and economic context rather than relating minutiae of company activities. This book would have made an appreciably greater contribution had it been shorter and had the focus been sharper.

Washington, D. C.

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

TRAGEDY IN DEDHAM: THE STORY OF THE SACCO-VANZETTI CASE. By *Francis Russell*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. x, 478. \$7.95.)

This book is interestingly written, unmarred by bias, and useless for any serious purpose.

The first pages present the author, in the role of inquiring reporter, recording the random reminiscences and opinions of such persons as a surviving witness, an elderly police officer, and the dead prosecutor's still practicing law partner. The heart of the book offers an orderly and proportioned account of the crime, the trial, and the development of the case as a national and international issue. The last pages cover Russell's own changing opinion on the question of guilt. The writing is clear throughout; the description of scenes and events is colorful, but not distorted.

An example of the author's freedom from bias can be found in his fair handling of the testimony of the witness Pelser whose only skill was repeated lying, compounding falsehood to the point of madness. New information is fairly accumulated: of seventeen significant new factual points, seven are neutral with respect to the issue of guilt, two might be introduced in evidence against the defendants, and eight in support of their innocence. Russell's field work was not guided by prejudgment. A further indication of freedom from bias is the author's evenhanded disposition of cynical attack. The following suffer derogation: the jury system, the Sacco-Vanzetti jury, Ripley, the jury foreman (because he was "slightly senile"), Katzmman, the prosecutor, Governor Fuller, and the members of the 1959 Joint Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts legislature—"lower-middle-class legislators whose interest was mainly in keeping their feet in the trough."

The first reason for calling the book useless is that it can be read meaningfully only by the half-dozen persons who know the Sacco-Vanzetti case and its literature practically "by heart." *Tragedy in Dedham* has no references in the text to any documents. There is simply no support; nothing can be checked. Consider the following important new evidence which is forced to stand entirely upon assertion: the background of Moore's private investigators; the quoted opinion of the state prison psychiatrist who knew Sacco and Vanzetti well; expert Gill's reaction to expert Goddard's posttrial ballistic tests; prosecutor Katzmman's view of criminal law as a game; police sadism practiced on the defendants the night of their arrest; pretrial offer of a vital legal stipulation; police threats against witness Wade after his testimony, adverse to the prosecution; firing of witnesses Brenner and McCullum from their jobs for the same reason; gross berating of a jury by Judge Thayer, a year before the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, for their acquittal of an alien anarchist; and Thayer's request to Chief Judge Aitken that he be assigned to the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. All this is highly significant, but, as it stands, it is allegation.

The new material cannot be received as more than allegation for a further and unhappy reason—the serious errors that exist in the testable parts of the book. Looking only to fact: Salsedo was perhaps or probably a suicide, but not so proved; Bostock did not hand the recovered shells to Fraher; Van Amburgh was not "certain" that a bullet had been fired from Sacco's gun (and Russell contradicts himself at another place); the Joint Judicial Committee did not refuse to consider granting a pardon in 1959 because it knew it could not do so. But chiefly,

Russell's direct quotations from the transcript of the record are marked by unnoted ellipses, unnoted joining of phrases, sentences, and paragraphs, and by many specific errors in copying.

The author is much more interested in the matter of proving guilt or innocence than in the issue that has chiefly engaged historians: the nature of the failure by law and society properly to administer justice. In handling the issue of guilt or innocence, Russell unfortunately often places in the same balance opinions uttered in random conversation twenty to forty years after the trial and testimony given in 1921 by witnesses under oath and subject to cross-examination. Space forbids discussion of the new ballistic evidence resulting from tests conducted in 1961 under bizarre and possibly illegal circumstances by experts already committed to a view of guilt.

This book does not meet the standards of a civilized society for the analysis and judgment of a decision by which men have condemned other men to die.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS JOUGHIN

PEARL HARBOR: WARNING AND DECISION. By *Roberta Wohlstetter*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 426. \$7.50.)

WITHIN the limits of its somewhat specialized field of interest, this is unquestionably the best book to date on the Pearl Harbor disaster. Careful and thorough in its research, judicious in its verdicts, and remarkably skillful in its organization of an immense mass of complicated material, it is admirable both as history and as analysis. The author speaks of it as a "case history on the conditions of surprise," but surprise was only a part (and a frequently misunderstood part) of the catastrophic events of December 1941, and the subtitle, *Warning and Decision*, conveys a better idea of the book's true scope and significance. It is really a study of the uses and functions of military-political intelligence in crises such as that of which Pearl Harbor was the climax.

In a situation such as obtained in mid-1941, intelligence (both military and political) has several responsibilities: it must collect the "signals" of hostile plans and purposes; it must distinguish those which are relevant from the vast amount of "noise"—some of it deliberately created, most of it simply the result of our uncertainty about all human motives and actions—with which the significant signals are always surrounded; it must evaluate the relevant signals and get them into the hands of the decision makers who have power to act upon their indications. How far intelligence can or should advise upon the decisions to be taken was obscure in 1941, and it is probably still obscure today. But even before this final point, it is obvious that there must be gaps and disconnections all along the line. The collection of signals may fail, as it did when the Japanese carrier fleet went into radio silence in November 1941, and the failure itself may be misinterpreted. In many ways, signals that in hindsight appear to have been of first importance

may be missed or lost in the general "noise" at the time. Even when they are detected by the intelligence people, it may be difficult to get their significance into the minds of the decision makers, and even when the top decision makers judge them rightly there remain all kinds of impediments—compounded by the ever-present problem of "security"—in converting the decision into action in the field.

Mrs. Wohlstetter gives a full account of the intelligence arrangements at Pearl Harbor (poorly organized, in many ways, between the army, the navy, the army air force, and the FBI) and those in Washington, which were better but far from perfect. She provides, I think for the first time, a reasonably complete history of "magic"—the remarkable operation through which we were able to read the Japanese diplomatic codes, often more quickly than the Japanese envoys could read them; she shows the enormous advantage it gave us, but also the organizational defects and shortage of personnel, which made it impossible to use the advantage to its full potentialities. The appalling difficulties involved in combining overt and covert intelligence, military and political intelligence, even the military intelligence supplied by the three services, into a reasonably accurate picture of coming events are here beautifully illustrated. Presumably, such things are better ordered today. Yet the essential argument of the book is that intelligence will never give an unambiguous picture of what is coming. We cannot expect it to do so in the future, as we cannot blame it for having failed to do so in the past.

The book leaves one with an impression that neither American intelligence, taken as a whole, nor the decision makers who had to act upon its indications did as badly in 1941 as is generally supposed. American intelligence faced three critical questions: Were the Japanese going to war? If so, would they include the United States together with the British and Dutch in their initial assault? Where would they strike? By early December we were almost certain that war was imminent; we thought an initial attack on United States positions so probable that the field commands had been alerted accordingly. The one thing we failed to divine was that the first blow would be a massive air attack on Pearl Harbor. Hindsight has discerned among the mass of "noise" available a few signals that might have given warning. It is difficult to blame anyone, in Washington or Pearl Harbor, for the fact that they were missed.

A valuable chapter, "The Reality behind the Signals," discusses the actual development of the Japanese policies which our intelligence analysts were trying to forecast. It shows how wide of the mark our people often were, even with "magic" to guide them. The lesson remains the same. The best intelligence in the world will never give unambiguous signs; it must always leave it to statesmanship to make those hard decisions to which no certainty as to outcome or effect can ever attach.

Glen Head, New York

WALTER MILLIS

THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *David N. Farnsworth*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XLIX.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 189. \$4.00.)

IN view of the role of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the building of American foreign policy since the war, it is surprising how little has been written about it. This work is designed to fill that gap; it is a book about an important subject.

The author takes as his point of departure the year 1947 when the Legislative Reorganization Act was implemented and the committees of Congress began to function under their new mandate. This was the year, too, when professional staffs made their appearance on Capitol Hill. The study covers the next decade during which time the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was exceptionally busy grappling with the major foreign policy questions facing this country in the postwar period.

After setting the stage with an explanation of the importance of committee work in our congressional system, Farnsworth turns to an analysis of the Foreign Relations Committee: its membership, its procedure, and its staff. He then discusses the role of the committee with respect to nominations (some 6,508 of them during the ten-year period) and treaties (some 200 in all). This is followed by a rather lengthy chapter on foreign aid and a consideration of certain important hearings—such as those relating to Senator McCarthy's charges of disloyalty in the Department of State, the dismissal of General MacArthur, and the St. Lawrence Seaway—all illustrative of the work of the committee. Finally the author, by an examination of the voting records on certain key issues, compares the attitudes of the members of the committee with those of the Senate as a whole. As one might expect, he finds that members of the committee are not really representative of the Senate on foreign policy issues, but are more inclined toward an international viewpoint than most of their colleagues.

The book is well organized and beautifully documented. It contains, moreover, much helpful statistical data. While it is not a definitive book in its field, it is a very welcome and useful addition to the scanty materials available on the work of congressional committees. It helps fill an important gap, and it should be very helpful in encouraging a better understanding of the role of the Foreign Relations Committee in the decision-making process.

Having said that, I must admit that I cannot accept all the writer's findings and conclusions. For example, the author, from his careful study of the published records, concludes that committee hearings are normally held in order to justify the committee's position on important issues, that the decision to hold hearings "is a strong indication that the Committee intends to approve the legislation."

This observation reflects a serious misunderstanding of the committee's procedure and of the role of public hearings. I cannot, in fact, recall a single instance in ten years of service with the Foreign Relations Committee when the committee

reached a decision on an important treaty, nomination, or legislative act prior to the opening of a public hearing. It may be that public hearings are normally followed by positive action on the part of the committee. But there are many reasons for this—including changes in the proposed legislation that may be adopted by the committee as a result of the hearings—which do not justify the author's conclusion.

All of which may show that in this type of research personal interviews may be at least as important as a careful study of documents.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS O. WILCOX

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1961. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1962. Pp. xi, 430. \$6.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1961. Edited by *Richard P. Stebbins*. With the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1962. Pp. xx, 555. \$6.95.)

TIME marches on, and so do these two admirable companion series published under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. Mr. Stebbins, as author of the narrative volume for 1961 and editor of the documents, has completely coordinated the two. Each volume has seven chapters, similarly arranged and with similar headings: "The World through American Eyes," "East-West Relations and the Soviet Bloc," "The Western Community," "American Policy in Asia," "The United States and Africa," "Inter-American Affairs," and "The Changing United Nations." The volumes are reciprocally cross-referenced. The narrative chapters are roughly equivalent in length, but in the document volume the first two chapters occupy nearly half the book. They contain excerpts from President Eisenhower's final message to Congress, the full text of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address, a number of Kennedy's later addresses and messages to Congress and excerpts from press conferences, his television report on his "somber 2 days" of conferences with Khrushchev in Vienna, and the full text of his lengthy interview with Aleksei Adzhubei, editor of *Izvestia*. Deserving more attention than it has received is Kennedy's assurance to Adzhubei that, if the people of any American nation should freely choose Communism, the United States "would accept that"—a rather risky statement in view of the one-way street that such a choice would be.

The documentation of the Bay of Pigs fiasco is judicious. It includes the full text of the State Department's pamphlet, *Cuba*, and excerpts from the President's press conferences and addresses just before and after the invasion. Worth recalling is the statement in his address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20 that "if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration—then . . . this Government will not

hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are to the security of our Nation." In his narrative volume the author is politely critical of the partiality shown by United States agents, presumably the CIA, in excluding the more Leftist Cuban groups from participation in the invasion. He implies that the failure of the disaffected Cuban populace to rise was attributable to the fact that "Señor Ray and his associates in the United States appear to have been carefully quarantined and denied radio facilities throughout the operation." Few will disagree with Stebbins' observation that as a result of the failure in Cuba "the United States was left with all the disadvantages and none of the potential advantages of the course it had adopted."

The beginnings of the Alliance for Progress receive suitable space in both volumes, and both inevitably allot many pages to the unsolved, if not insoluble, problems of Berlin and disarmament. Of special interest among the documents to readers interested in attitudes toward colonialism is an address of American Delegate Jonathan B. Bingham before the United Nations General Assembly, pointing to the Congo situation as illustrating the disastrous folly of rushing into independence without adequate preparation. These examples will suggest, to readers not already familiar with these series, how indispensable they are to students of recent and contemporary developments in the world relations of the United States.

Williamsville, New York

JULIUS W. PRATT

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CONFEDERATION, 1864-1867: POLITICS,
NEWSPAPERS, AND THE UNION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

By P. B. Waite. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 379.
\$8.50.)

THE task set by the author of this new history of Canadian Confederation is perhaps most accurately described by that overworked phrase "a challenge." One of its complexities is his chosen approach, through the occasionally flamboyant, usually biased, and, by the paler standards of twentieth-century journalism, sometimes libelous medium of the mid-nineteenth-century Canadian press. But with the corrective of other sources, governmental and private, and of contemporary books, pamphlets, and articles, this becomes a rewarding means of writing a "biography" of Confederation. The result is a retelling of the story of British North American union, which adds vivid detail to many episodes and analyzes in greater depth the local forces and reactions in each of the colonies involved. Waite has examined a remarkably broad spectrum of Canadian newspapers, with some from Great Britain and the United States, and has consulted the major manuscript collections for the period, as well as others less well known. He provides his readers with a well-rounded appraisal of the opinion of the time on this key movement in Canada's history.

Another problem, inherent in the subject, is that of combining with a very large quantity of source material a synthesis of the substantial number of secondary accounts available. It is true, as Waite says in his preface, that there has been no history of Confederation since that of R. G. Trotter, published in 1924. There have been, however, many articles and some books on various aspects of the subject and the period. The author shows solid mastery of this literature, thus supplying the necessary revision of Trotter and of such specialized studies as W. M. Whitelaw's *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation*. Although his listing of secondary materials is not exhaustive, it offers the student of Confederation a reliable guide both to recent and earlier writing on the period. The notes on contemporary newspapers and the critical comments on pamphlets help to make the bibliography an outstanding feature of the book. As the subtitle indicates, the book's orientation is political and constitutional, though incidental attention is given to economic and social issues. While Waite does not advance many new theories he does indicate the need of some changes in emphasis. He makes much clearer than most writers the fact that the projected conference on maritime union might not have met in 1864, if at all, had the Canadians not asked for an invitation to attend it. A re-examination of Confederation through the press also underlines two conclusions which Waite shares with others: that it was hardly a popular movement and that it was a remarkably bold one, given the circumstances of British North America in the 1860's. As he says, "it was a political dream of wonderful audacity."

This study of the formation of Canada's governmental structure takes its place as a well-written, thoroughly documented history, mainly for the specialist but with much for the general reader.

University of Maine

ALICE R. STEWART

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

A ROSTER OF CIVILIZATIONS AND CULTURE. By *A. L. Kroeber*. [Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 33.] (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. 96. \$3.50.) At his death in 1960, A. L. Kroeber left unfinished a check list and taxonomy of world cultures. These essays are published with a minimum of editing by his literary executors, in an attractive format with pertinent additional material. Kroeber was dean of American anthropologists. His wide knowledge of history fitted him to tread the middle ground between history and anthropology. He views civilizations as more strongly patterned and elaborated concatenations of traits found also in less complex cultures. When he denies generic distinction between civilizations and culture, Kroeber parts with *philosophers* of history. He proposes a *natural history* of culture founded on a taxonomic classification which has considered all cultural phenomena. In a thought-provoking manner "Areal Delimitations of Western Civilization" and "Minor Civilizations in Native North America" exemplify his method. Kroeber points the way to a study of civilization in which historians and anthropologists might cooperate to investigate, instead of assuming, the organic cyclical character of civilization. Anthropologists, he reminds us, delineate and classify systematically discrete sociocultural units, usually of lesser intensity, while historians are concerned mainly with periodization of elaborate cultures. An appended incomplete essay, "The Time Profile of Western Civilization," is an invitation to students in the two disciplines to join forces for another tentative "everlasting reformulation" of history. The prose is, characteristically, concise, lucid, and stimulating.

Peabody Museum, Harvard University

JONATHAN GELL

MEDICAL TEACHING IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION: A HISTORY PREPARED FROM THE WRITINGS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN AUTHORS. By *William B. Wartman*. (Chicago: Year Book Medical Publishers. 1961. Pp. 307. \$7.50.) Though purporting to be an anthology of writings concerning medical education "prepared from the writings of ancient and modern authors," this book is not really an account of medical teaching in Western civilization since it concentrates primarily on the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. While Hippocrates is quoted for a page, Galen is entirely ignored. Rather than turn to the Roman epigrammatist Martial for a quotation, Wartman cites a poor translation in a modern secondary work on medicine. As he approaches the nineteenth century, Wartman gives a few extracts from people engaged in pioneer break-throughs in medical teaching such as Richard Bright in England or John Morgan in the United States, but most of his account of medicine in this period relies on long extracts from Theodor Billroth and Abraham Flexner, both of whose books are widely available. The book is not really an account of medical teaching or an adequate explanation of the development of medical education. Most of the works that are extracted are readily available in English editions, and Wartman's reading in the field, if his bibliography is any indication, has not been very extensive. The book is

an interesting account aimed at physicians who want to learn something about their profession without too much strain, but the serious student of the history of medicine or of education will find little of value.

San Fernando Valley State College

VERN L. BULLOUGH

BEGEGNUNGEN MIT DER GESCHICHTE. By *Theodor Schieder*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1962. Pp. 303. DM 19.80.) Nine "encounters" with history have been assembled here from the production of half a lifetime spent by Professor Schieder in study, research, thought, and, above all, in desperate concern. They make fascinating reading. All have appeared previously in various books and journals during the past twenty-five years. Two of them date from the Nazi period. As to subject matter, the encounters fall into three groups, which deal respectively with poetry, historiography, and politics. Although independent of one another in origin, they show an internal unity that has been brought to them out of a disciplinary commitment of their author. In an epilogue he speaks of this commitment as "striving to deal with historical problems in a form that overcomes every dogmatic narrowing of a *Geistesgeschichte* and constantly keeps before the mind the relationship of spiritual forces to historical reality." One has to read no more than the first of these encounters, "Shakespeare and Machiavelli," before he becomes aware that what Schieder presents in the guise of an abstract methodological principle is in reality a concrete principle of life for him. For the "spiritual forces" of which he speaks are the higher culture of Europe; the "historical reality" is nothing but the stark, frequently horrible reality of political life and struggle. The problem of striking a balance between these two, such that power will not stifle culture nor culture become defenseless and impotent, is the theme of this book. Machiavelli taught modern man to view the sordid business of governing without idealistic illusions; while Shakespeare, who had learned Machiavelli's lesson well, affirmed in great art that reality, however straightly seen, remains ultimately subject to the good—that is, to the highest values of European culture. Repeatedly, modern European man's sense of reality has threatened his sense of the good. Schieder sees such a threat in Wallenstein's unprincipled ambition and ultimate treason as developed in Schiller's great drama. He sees the threat again, as did Goethe and Ranke, in Napoleonic Caesarism and in the several nationalistic reactions against it. He sees it in the determination of nineteenth-century nationalism to direct all aspects of higher culture to nationalistic ends, thereby destroying the autonomy that is the very lifeblood of culture. The most serious threat came in the twentieth century, but here he lets the prophetic words of Burckhardt speak for him. Schieder finds suggestions of a solution to the problem of balance between power and culture in the finer tradition of German nationalism wherein men are led to esteem the nation, not so rabidly as Hitler, but rationally as Goethe, Ranke, and Bismarck. The nationalism of each of these, Schieder thinks, was subsumed under a universal encompassing all nationalisms: the European system of nations whose countervailing power and mutual respect provided salutary equilibrium, the *real-geistigen* ground in which European culture once flourished and might flourish again.

University of Oregon

LLOYD R. SORENSON

LA PREMIÈRE INTERNATIONALE: RECUEIL DE DOCUMENTS. In two volumes. Published under the direction of *Jacques Freymond*. Texts established by *Henri Burgelin et al.* Introduction by *Jacques Freymond*. [Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Number 39.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1962. Pp. xxxiii, 454; 499. 88 fr. S. the set.) The recent upturn of scholarly interest in the First International and increasing recognition of the role that organization played

in the delineation, definition, and development of modern socialism seem to indicate that the hundred-year-old International is only now beginning to come into proper historical focus. Under these circumstances it is difficult to imagine a more welcome and timely tool than these two large volumes produced by an international team of scholars under the direction of a well-recognized Swiss authority, Jacques Freymond. The collection includes several key documents hitherto either difficult or, like the ingeniously collated procès-verbaux of the 1871 London Conference, virtually impossible to obtain in any Western language. Most of the material, however, is readily available elsewhere, and the intent of the editors goes beyond merely filling documentary gaps. Rather, it is to select from among the various and often conflicting reports of the yearly congresses a basic and reliable core of documents that can serve the purposes of objective and systematic study rather than doctrinal justification as has usually been the case heretofore. The impediments to objective judgment in these affairs are mountainous. The progressive radicalization of the International plus its scission in 1872 into a centralist (Marxist) and a federalist (eventually anarchist) organization produced many dissident versions of just what its proceedings had been. By choosing only those reports sanctioned by the yearly meetings and by ending their presentation in 1872, the editors seem to have hit upon the most logical formula for standardization. Its use for the London Conference of 1871 and the Hague Congress of 1872, however, actually imparts a centralist bias since the representation at both meetings was heavily and fictitiously packed by Marx. The balance is somewhat redressed for the 1871 meeting when the editors depart from their formula and include Bakuninist replies. On the other hand, the Marxist charges contained in the centralist version of the Hague minutes and in *L'Alliance de la démocratie socialiste et l'Internationale* are included without rebutting answers. Such answers do exist, and the editors probably intend to include them in a promised subsequent volume. It should have been made clearer, nevertheless, that the present collection covers only the first (albeit the major) period of the International.

Montana State University
ALLAN H. KITTELL

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE WORLD: DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POST-STALIN ERA. By *Karlis Kalnins et al.* Edited by *Stephen D. Kertesz*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1962. Pp. x, 386. \$6.50.) It is never easy to produce a volume consisting of fifteen chapters written by fourteen authors, which is uniform in quality, avoids repetition, and gives the authors enough space to do more than factual reporting. The task was even more difficult than usual in the case of this volume which deals only with Communist-dominated countries (with the exception of Finland and Austria). Problems and issues like multiyear plans, relations between party and population, COMECON, the Warsaw Pact, the post-Stalin "thaw," the "new course," and many others are discussed in almost every essay. At the end of the book the reader is left with the impression that the work would have gained much if its various chapters had centered around the above-mentioned major issues and not around countries. The events in the states under Communist rule represent variations on themes originating in the Soviet Union and could have been treated as such. The success of the tenth chapter, "Economic Developments in East Central Europe, 1954-1961," seems to prove the value of this approach. Given the limitations of space and the need to cover every aspect of life in the various states discussed, the authors did remarkably well. We find little of the special pleading, nostalgic patriotism, and partisanship, which characterizes much of what is written about the countries behind the various curtains. Instead we have serious and often well-documented attempts at analysis, and if the results are unfavorable to those who rule

East Central Europe then they are so not because the authors failed to mention their successes but because the failures outweigh the achievements. Although not every essay is excellent, all of them are good and follow the just mentioned approach to the problems they discuss. This uniformity in approach is one of the book's main strengths. We must probably thank the editor for this, but we must, on the other hand, question his (if it was his) selection of the title. The inclusion of Austria, Finland, and East Germany in a book dealing with countries whose policies are either dominated or influenced by the Soviet Union cannot be questioned, but the present power of the Soviets does not change geography or past history and does not place these states in East Central Europe. This is, of course, a minor error and is worth mentioning only because it occurs more and more frequently in the writings of our scholars. For the specialist this book will be useful only as a handy reference to better-known events and some details, but it should be of great value to all others, scholars and general readers alike, who want a reliable account of the events that occurred behind and near the iron curtain since Stalin's death.

University of Washington

PETER F. SUGAR

Ancient and Medieval

LA FIN DE LA DÉMOCRATIE ATHÉNIENNE: ASPECTS SOCIAUX ET POLITIQUES DU DÉCLIN DE LA CITÉ GRECQUE AU IV^e SIÈCLE AVANT J.-C. By *Claude Mossé*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, New Series, Number 10.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. 495. 25 N. F.) This book is an attempt to answer the old question of why the Greek city-state, Athens in particular, failed to meet the challenge of Macedon. Was this a failure caused by internal or external factors? Was it inevitable or accidental? While it is unlikely that any completely new explanation can be given, the author has done a masterly job in analyzing the results of modern scholarship, sometimes in the body of the text, sometimes in a well-chosen footnote, but with a completeness not to be found elsewhere. His own thesis may be briefly summarized here, but to appreciate it one must read the work. Mossé sees fourth-century Athens' attempting repeatedly but with diminishing success to restore the equilibrium that existed before the Peloponnesian War. The question is fundamentally an economic one. Agriculture, mining, trade, and manufacturing gave Athens an enviable position in which it was able to supplement its deficient food production by imports paid for in oil, wine, money (Laurium), and the profits of the carrying trade. Most Athenians owned land, so that the government was in effect a peasant democracy. The flight from the land, however, begun as a wartime necessity, became permanent and was aggravated by the return of Athenian citizens from former dependencies. The prosperity of fifth-century Athens resulted from its exploitation of the allies, an exploitation that became more and more tyrannical as the war continued. Partly as a result of slavery the Athenians developed a contempt for "banausic" occupations and, with deteriorating economic conditions, turned more and more to the government for support. The fourth century saw a widening gap between rich and poor with a larger proportion of citizens in the very lowest property class. The Second Athenian Confederacy, welcomed by most rich Athenians as offering the best solution, proved expensive to maintain, while rich and poor alike were less willing to devote their persons or their fortunes to this end. A growing dependence on mercenaries, a steady loss of foreign markets, and the general inability of Greeks to accept any political organization beyond a temporary alliance of autonomous states eventually doomed Athens. Mossé has made extremely good use of

most of the literary and some of the archaeological sources. Aristotle is perhaps his most valued monitor, but he fails to note Aristotle's dependence on the historians. For example, he does not see that when Aristotle praises the Five Thousand (*Ath. Pol.* 33,2, page 369) he is echoing the opinion of Thucydides (VIII 92,2) rather than giving his own judgment. Historians like Ephorus and Theopompus are barely mentioned, and Philistus, the apostle of tyranny, finds no place in the author's discussion of Dionysius. He is at his best in dealing with the orators, notably Isocrates and Demosthenes.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE EARLY CHURCH. By *Lucetta Mowry*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 259. \$6.95.) Miss Mowry is a well-trained scholar who differs radically from most English-speaking New Testament specialists in accepting the Dead Sea Scrolls as authentic documents from the last two centuries of the Second Temple (ca. 130 B.C.-A.D. 68). Her view of the relation between the Qumran literature and the New Testament is substantially that of Millar Burrows, who has influenced her very strongly. The author may be commended for her caution, which almost never transgresses the limits set by conventional New Testament criticism today. This circumspection is much more likely to win supporters than an extreme view, such as the derivation of Christianity en bloc from the sectarians of Qumran or the refusal to see any real connection at all (a view shared for different reasons by both conservatives and liberals). On the other hand, the same caution prevents her book from giving a true idea of the actual situation today. Her unwillingness to label the "sectarians" as Essenes creates an aura of vagueness about Jewish religious life. And her obvious reluctance to deal with the Gnostics prevents her from using the rich new Gnostic material from Chenoboskion in Upper Egypt. Today it is increasingly clear that the atmosphere of the New Testament falls squarely between pre-Essene and Essene literature of the last two centuries B.C. and early Gnostic literature from the latter part of the first century A.D. and the early second century A.D. This is in agreement with the great Christian heresiographers of the second-fourth centuries A.D. (now vindicated in so many ways by the codices of Chenoboskion), who say that Gnosticism began with Simon Magus and Deacon Nicolas (between ca. A.D. 40 and 60). The evidence for Jewish sectarian and specifically Essene influence on the New Testament is much greater than Miss Mowry is willing to admit. It extends into the organization and ritual of the first-century Church, into many aspects of New Testament religious thought and terminology; it compels a drastic redating of New Testament books, nearly all of which seem to be earlier than commonly supposed, even by conservatives. The treatment of the relation between the framework of the Qumran community and the Apostolic Church is quite inadequate. There is no reference to the epochal studies of K. G. Kuhn on the Pauline Epistles (including Ephesians) or to the studies of Kurt Schubert on the Synoptic Gospels. Jean Daniélou's work on John the Baptist or on Essene liturgical influence is passed over in silence. Nothing is said about Raymond Brown's monograph on the Jewish origin of the Pauline *mysterion* (in accord with views held by A. D. Nock before the discovery of the Scrolls). And so it goes. Yet a book that took all the now accessible evidence into account would probably be too far ahead of the time to have much impact; thus Miss Mowry's clear survey may be heartily welcomed.

Johns Hopkins University

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

ERFORSCHUNG DES MITTELALTERS: AUSGEWÄHLTE ABHANDLUNGEN UND AUFSÄTZE. Volume V. By *Paul Lehmann*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1962. Pp. 543. DM 108.) In 1959 Paul Lehmann began collecting and arranging his

numerous essays and studies on medieval Latin literature and paleography into volumes. This fifth and evidently final volume contains a very complete index and table of contents for the five volumes and a list of Lehmann's writings between 1941 and 1962. Dedicated to his master, Ludwig Traube, to whom Lehmann pays tribute, this volume, like the others, maintains the high quality characteristic of Lehmann's work. The 1,980 pages of these five volumes present an imposing corpus of research that will facilitate the work of many scholars and spare them the irksome chore of ferreting out Lehmann's articles from various and not always available journals. For this volume Lehmann reserved a few of his longer studies, some of which could be considered small books. The first study of ninety-three pages delves into the origin and meaning of such words as *Liber*, *Opus*, *Textus*, *Corpus*, and *Epitome* which were used in the Middle Ages to designate different types of books. In meticulous examination of the pertinent texts, Lehmann displays to advantage his fine philological and historical learning. The second study establishes a list of writings that came from the monastery of Corvey. The following two short essays evaluate the influence of Ovid and Tertullian in the Middle Ages and what medieval scholars thought of them. Next are an introduction to and an edition of the *Admonitio S. Basilii ad Filium Spiritualem*. The following essay on the periodization of Latin writing in the Middle Ages is certainly, for historians, the most valuable in the volume. After pointing out that the history of Latin literature in the Middle Ages by Max Manitius was divided into volumes and sections determined by the chronology of political events, Lehmann questions the validity of such division. What connection, he asks, was there between such periods as "Justinian to Charlemagne" or "The Carolingian" and the different genres of Latin literature? He concludes that divisions so determined can seldom be justified and that only occasionally did a political development such as the investiture conflict influence the course of Latin writing; consequently, it makes more sense to discuss Latin literature of the Middle Ages according to its forms of style and thought. The remaining studies discuss what was read and written in Latin in Western Europe during the seventh century, the knowledge of German humanism gained from collections of writings in the libraries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the contributions of the Scandinavian region to medieval Latin literature. This volume, more than the other four, is composed of studies that provide not only useful information but also judicious and learned interpretations which are, after all, the principal objectives of most historians.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

MILITARY OBLIGATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: A STUDY IN LIBERTY AND DUTY. By *Michael Powicke*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 263. \$7.20.) Professor Michael Powicke is well known for his illuminating articles on English military institutions. This book is a work of synthesis, building on his previous investigations and also on the specialized studies of such scholars as J. E. Morris, Bryce Lyon, J. O. Prestwich, and A. E. Prince. His familiarity with the sources extends from Alfred to the Tudors, enabling him to use the secondary literature with discrimination and to modify or augment the work of other specialists. This perceptive, significant book is cleanly written and judicious in its interpretations. Powicke stresses the military importance of the nobility throughout the Middle Ages, but recognizes also the vital role of mercenaries and places particular emphasis on the evolution of nonnoble service from the local forces of Anglo-Saxon times to the *jurati ad arma* of the later Middle Ages. Continuity is the keynote: "From five-hide rule and fyrd-wite to Assize of Arms and 'distrain of knighthood,' the idea of a centrally imposed gradation of duties offset, without destroying, the division of England into nobles and serfs." The study concludes with a thoughtful and suggestive

chapter on the practice of consulting nobles and commoners on military affairs. By the mid-fourteenth century, consultation had developed to the point that "England deserved the name of 'constitutional monarchy.'" The book contains its quota of minor slips (for example, the calamitous error of citing my name incorrectly) and controversial conclusions. The word "fyrd" is perhaps defined too narrowly. What does it matter that "the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler identified the feudal host as the fyrd" when he used the same term to describe Scottish, Norman, Irish, and French armies? Does the familiar Article Two of the "Ten Articles of William I" (which the author misidentifies as the *Leis Willelmi*) really prove that "the whole free population were bound by William to serve him in war, both in and out of England"? More attention might have been given to the naval obligation so basic to the pre-Conquest military structure and to the castle-guard duty of post-Conquest times. More might have been done with related military developments on the Continent. Nevertheless, one must admire the ease and authority with which the author moves through half a millennium of development and the insight which he brings to so many fundamental matters that have long been obscure or misunderstood. His is a contribution of the first order to our understanding of medieval England.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

THE KING'S MESSENGERS, 1109-1377: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD. By *Mary C. Hill*. (London: Edward Arnold; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York, 1961. Pp. 163. \$9.00.) This is a good administrative history. Miss Hill sticks closely to her subject and is able to answer a great range of questions concerning the origin and development, conditions of service, duties, and personnel of the king's messengers. What is more, there emerges from her story a rather neat account of the development of the household, its records, and its relationship to the Exchequer. Larger questions of the role of messengers in the whole constitutional process are left untouched. One obvious reason, apart from the bias of the tradition of administrative history, is that they were too low in the hierarchy to affect political decisions. Yet, remembering J. C. Davies' "concentric" theories of Edward II's reign, one can see where the question of household control might have been explored. Further, the fact that, as Miss Hill demonstrates, the *nuncii* were the chief ties between center and locality, between royal government and the network of sheriffs, arrayers, taxers, and envoys who operated "in the field," could have inspired her to reflect more carefully on the strength of these communications. Miss Hill answers many questions. She shows that the king's messengers served for life, not just for single missions or short terms. A less permanent group of runners—kitchen hangers-on—supplemented them. She traces their development from feudal sergeants and chancery servants via a century's wardrobe employment to their direct pay by the Exchequer early in Edward III's reign. An account is given of such matters as wages, clothing, equipment, and pensions; for example, their horses were valued at 6s.8d. to 40s., and remounts could be obtained at post houses on the main routes. Other chapters deal with their functions and personnel. Without these men of yeoman stock, it is made clear that the machinery of war and peace would have been slower and less efficient. We may reflect that by increasing the amount of king's command at the expense of self-government in local affairs, they ensured that the larger questions of liberty and privilege would need to be fought for at the center. This problem does not arouse Miss Hill's attention. But she has given us enough. Perhaps she will inspire a successor to give us the even more important story of the king's knights, esquires, and sergeants.

University of Toronto

M. R. POWICKE

BOOK OF PRESTS OF THE KING'S WARDROBE FOR 1294-5: PRESENTED TO JOHN GORONWY EDWARDS. General Editor, *E. B. Fryde*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. Pp. lix, 266. \$8.00.) This handsome volume is a fitting tribute to Sir Goronwy Edwards for his long service to Clio, especially in her Welsh aspect. The bibliography of his writings and the list of subscribers to the volume attest to the influence he has exerted during the past half century as teacher, editor, and scholar. The text is a wardrobe book of Edward I, which Edwards really "discovered" as a source for the political history of the reign. Its date is that of Edward's last great Welsh campaign, when he put down the rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn, but at such a great cost as to embarrass seriously his conduct of affairs in Gascony and Scotland and to incur the wrath of a nation as yet unused to heavy taxation. Making use of the text, the introduction provides a detailed account of the campaign and also places this "book of prests" in the administrative history of the wardrobe. In the appendix are several cognate documents as well as an itinerary of the King for the regnal year 1294-1295 and a record of money sent to Wales for the campaign. The edition of the text is a model; the whole publication is as nearly faultless as extreme care can make it.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATTŪTA, A.D. 1325-1354. Volume II. Translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B. R. San-guineti by *H. A. R. Gibb*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number CXVII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society, 1962. Pp. xii, 271-537. \$6.50.) Contrary to the present trend among Orientalists to leave translations to Oriental scholars, Professor Gibb has evidently discontinued his original researches, begun with Harold Bowen on Islamic society and the West, in favor of translation. This volume follows that reviewed in this publication [*AHR*, LXIV (Jan. 1959), 424], but is more difficult to treat because it deals with areas in the Near East, East Africa, and Eastern Europe for which there is no extensive contemporary material for use in checking. The translator agrees with earlier critics that the author's claim to have journeyed to the trading center of Bulghār on the Volga is fictitious, but he is convinced that his trip to the south Russian steppes is genuine. The translation is marked with extreme care, accuracy, and thoroughness. The notes abound in references to an obvious source, *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and are clotted with what seems to be unnecessary details. The book cited in note ninety-nine with "Cairo, n.d." does carry a date in the colophon: A.H. 1324. The transliteration is not free of inconsistencies, as a comparison of the words "al-'Irāq" and "al-Kūfa," as they occur on the first page of the book and on the facing map, would show.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

THE HOLLOW CROWN: A LIFE OF RICHARD II. By *Harold F. Hutchison*. (New York: John Day Company, 1961. Pp. xx, 276. \$5.00.) The personality, rather more than the policy, of Richard II has lent itself to divergent interpretations. Stubbs cautiously found it hard to say whether Richard's changed behavior after a period of astonishing moderation had been owing to unscrupulous craft or to the cunning of a madman. For Tout, Richard was too idle, too ill trained, too spasmodic, too devoid of pertinacity and common sense to become a successful autocrat. For Steel, Richard was a temperamental neurotic on the road to madness. For Galbraith, he lacked the character to dominate the magnates. For Miss McKisack, "a cloud of romantic illusion has gathered round the name of Richard II . . . but Richard had [by 1399] become dangerous, perhaps dangerously mad." Mr. Hutchison refutes such views in *The Hollow Crown*. In a well-written and occasionally oratorical biography, he seeks to vindicate Richard's policies and character by depicting "a fascinating king who was

also a rational, if unlucky, human being." Richard's *coup d'état* of 1397 was "the triumphant result of seven years' patient political planning," and "judged by the standards of his own day, Richard's mercy [1398] was exaggerated to the point of foolhardiness." The author, citing printed chronicles and modern commentaries, reinterprets well-known facts. Anthony Steel's *Richard II* seems to have been constantly at Hutchison's elbow, and a more formally trained professional historian would, I suspect, have acknowledged more specifically a dependence on Steel's researches. To be sure, Hutchison arrived at a vastly different interpretation of the evidence. Furthermore, his strictures on those who hold views contrary to his own seem to me rather more severe than the criticized passage warrants. In stating that historians had branded De Vere "with that tendentious label 'favourite'" and that "forced loans is the tendentious appellation of propagandists," the author supplies an appropriate adjective for his own book.

Hamilton College

E. B. GRAVES

FIFTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Percival Hunt*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1962. Pp. 153. \$4.50.) It is hard to tell for what audience Mr. Hunt designed this little book. The author has read such things as the *Paston Letters* and a few of the older secondary works on the fifteenth century and has set down his own ruminations in a series of short, disconnected essays without documentation and without any original observations to illuminate them. The book reads like the appreciative notes of an amateur who has discovered a field of interest that he had not previously known to exist. These observations bear such chapter headings as "A Note on Prices" (three pages), "Music" (eight pages), "Schools" (eleven pages), "Thomas Rotherham" (six pages), "Richard Pace" (five pages), and "Ghosts" (nine pages). By no stretch of the imagination can this slight volume be classed as a contribution to historical scholarship or interpretation. The book shows no reflection of the recent scholarship on the fifteenth century.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

EUGENIUS IV: POPE OF CHRISTIAN UNION. By *Joseph Gill, S.J.* [The Popes through History, Volume I.] (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 226. \$3.75.) In this new series of biographies on the popes edited by Raymond H. Schmandt, Loyola University, Chicago, the emphasis is to be on popes who have been heads of the Church in times of crisis. Each volume is being assigned to a recognized specialist. Since the series is planned to serve the general reader, scholarly apparatus is reduced to a minimum, but each biography is intended to be critical and authoritative as well as readable. The choice of subject and author for the first volume in the series could hardly have been better. Despite the importance of Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447), he has never before been the subject of a biography in any language, and his first biographer, Joseph Gill, whose monumental *The Council of Florence* appeared in 1959, was uniquely qualified to deal with every phase of his life and work. Throughout his pontificate Eugene IV was preoccupied with the union of the Eastern Church with Rome and with the defense of the powers and rights of the papacy against the conciliar movement. As a temporal ruler, he became deeply involved also in the petty Italian wars of his age, and, like other Italian princes and despots, he became an employer of calculating *condottieri* and their troops. His success in uniting the Greeks and Latins at the Council of Florence in 1439 was destined to be short lived, but a sound principle for union was established in the recognition of unity of faith and diversity of rite. Owing in part to the weakened conditions of the papacy following the Avignon exile and the Great Schism, and in part to his own diplomatic ineptitude, he failed for some time to stem the conciliar movement at Basel. Yet his tenacity of purpose eventually tri-

umphed, and he was able to re-establish the traditional papal prerogatives. Eugene IV cannot be called a reform pope in the strict sense. The Council of Florence did little or nothing to inaugurate the wide Church reforms that had become so badly needed. A much greater crisis would be required to make reform a central issue. The author has given us a critical and vivid biography of Eugene IV, and he has portrayed him, not in isolation, but within the general historical framework and outlook of his age.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

GREEK SCHOLARS IN VENICE: STUDIES IN THE DISSEMINATION OF GREEK LEARNING FROM BYZANTIUM TO WESTERN EUROPE. By *Deno John Geanakoplos*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 348. \$7.50.) The contribution to the revival of Greek in Western Europe made by the Byzantine refugees who migrated to Italy both before and after the fall of Constantinople has long been recognized. There was a time, indeed, when historians tended to exaggerate the importance of that contribution and, as a result, to date the beginning of the "renaissance des lettres" from 1453. The role of the Venetian printers, in particular that of Aldus Manutius, in the dissemination of Greek literature throughout the West, has also been well known. Deno Geanakoplos has, nevertheless, made a significant addition to our knowledge of the process by which almost the whole body of classical Greek literature was made available to Western Europeans through detailed studies of five of the Greek refugees who were active in the collecting and copying of manuscripts and in preparing scholarly editions for the press. These studies are set against the background of an informative account of Venetian relations with Byzantium and, more particularly, with the Venetian-held island of Crete. All five of the Greek scholars treated here, of whom Marcus Musurus is by far the best known, were Cretans, and the cumulative effect of these studies is to demonstrate the extent, not generally realized, to which the Cretan colony served as a cultural link between the dying Byzantine Empire and the great commercial republic, just at the time when the Venetian patriciate was beginning to take a somewhat belated interest in the classical studies already firmly established at Florence and elsewhere in Italy. A sixth chapter devoted to Erasmus as the associate of the Greek scholars in the Aldine Academy contains less that is new. It does not, at any rate, add anything very significant to the accounts of Erasmus' experience in Venice already presented by De Nolhac, Renaudet, and others. As is quite natural in the context, Geanakoplos stresses the humanist's debt to those Greek scholars he met in the academy, who worked with him in the Aldine press at the time when he was preparing for publication the greatly enlarged edition of his *Adagia*. At the same time the author gives Erasmus full credit for his activity as the principal agent for the diffusion of Greek literature and Greek studies beyond the Alps.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

MARINE CARTOGRAPHY IN BRITAIN: A HISTORY OF THE SEA CHART TO 1855. By *A. H. W. Robinson*. With a foreword by *Sir John Edgell*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press. 1962. Pp. 222. £5 5s.) English concern with marine surveying developed concurrently with the growth of naval power primarily because of the practical needs to defend the islands and to decrease the high rate of losses from shipwrecks. In *Marine Cartography in Britain* A. H. W. Robinson has traced that develop-

ment from the early manuscript charts of the sixteenth century to the Grand Survey of the British Isles in the mid-nineteenth century, and he has supplemented his text with lists of charts and hydrographic surveys as well as forty-two full-page reproductions of charts that cover the same range. The charts, with explanatory notes, constitute the most valuable part of the book. Universal interest in the history of exploration and discovery has resulted in the publication of hundreds of volumes of travel accounts, histories of explorations, biographies of explorers, and geographies. By and large, however, historians have neglected the story of man's perfection of navigational aids, especially that of the practical if somewhat unromantic work of hydrographers. Robinson's book is a major step toward filling that void. Limiting himself to charts of the British Isles and consequently omitting such famous men as Captain James Cook, George Vancouver, and Matthew Flinders, the author has still produced a significant reference work. His bibliography of selected secondary references and his primary sources, which are listed only in the footnotes, indicate a thorough examination of available records. The text is not as satisfactory as it could have been, for Robinson has presented his history through biographies of individual hydrographers with insufficient generalizations to unify the story. Obviously such a history must of necessity be limited, and Robinson has stayed within his limitations. In his preface, however, he has recorded a disturbing generalization: "Knowledge gained in the shoal-beset waters around the British coasts . . . did more to advance the science of hydrography than the exploratory survey of thousand of miles of coastline in other parts of the world." While *Marine Cartography in Britain* surveys the charting of the English coastline, it is too limited in scope to make that generalization valid.

Arlington State College

GLEN M. RODGERS

FOUR CENTURIES OF MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, 1561-1961. By F. W. M. Draper. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 260. \$4.80.) "The aspirations of the London burghers and their incredible generosity," writes W. K. Jordan in *The Charities of London 1480-1660*, "are perhaps best exemplified in the steady and massive support which they lent to education. . . ." Dr. Draper has written a useful history of one of the most notable results of such generosity, which should give pleasure to old boys and instruction to the historian of education. Founded by the Merchant Taylors' Company "for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature," and maintained by them ever since, the school was for most of its history one of the city of London's three great grammar schools; since 1933 it has occupied a suburban site in Hertfordshire. The present volume will supplement, but not supersede, H. B. Wilson's history which appeared in 1812 and which is far fuller on the earlier period. The third chapter by W. C. Farr in *Merchant Taylors' School: Its Origin, History and Present Surroundings*, published by the school Archaeological Society in 1929, succeeds better than Draper in placing the institution in its historical context. With public schools increasingly under attack in England as social anachronisms perpetuating an outmoded class structure, it is a pity that the author did not devote fewer pages to the intricacies of school politics and the achievements of Old Merchant Taylors, and more to an examination of the kind of education given and the values promoted by the school. As it is, the most interesting chapters are those dealing with its gradual adaptation to the changing educational needs and social aspirations of the upper middle classes in the last hundred years. To Draper, probably rightly, the increasing emphasis on games and other character-building activities is as significant as the slow and reluctant addition of modern subjects to the classical curriculum.

Vassar College

DONALD J. OLSEN

ELIZABETHAN MONOPOLIES: THE HISTORY OF THE COMPANY OF MINERAL AND BATTERY WORKS FROM 1565 TO 1604. By M. B. Donald. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1961. Pp. xv, 256. 50s.) To his earlier work, *Elizabethan Copper* (1955) and the history of the Company of Mines Royal, Professor Donald now adds the history of the related company. Founded in the same year, 1568, and for some of the same purposes ("to manufacture goods," in the author's phrase), the two had a common origin in mining, but were soon to evolve in quite different directions. While the Mines Royal became primarily concerned with the production of copper, the Mineral and Battery Works began, as the name indicates, with an operation to manufacture brass, but when this proved technically difficult, the company became "a licensing company which drew royalty from the licenses for operating the various technical processes for which it held letters patent." Most of the book is concerned with three groups of patentees who were seeking to manufacture lead in North Derbyshire, pure iron in Monmouthshire, and brass in Middlesex. Like Darwin's old maid, their story eventually touches much of Elizabethan England. Of course technology forms the core, with the rapidly changing but poorly understood science of metallurgy, the exciting adaptation of water power at critical points in the manufacturing process, and the plight of an "emerging" nation (England) seeking to attract technicians and jealously guarded secrets from more advanced countries (Germany). Then the vicissitudes of the company add interesting evidence on a central concern of the Elizabethan economy: the mobilization of capital through the proliferation and perfection of company organization. To the extent that the company's patents could so easily operate in restraint of trade and invention, the story often is raised to the level of national policy. Although playing cards were the actual cause of the antimonopolistic outburst of 1601, for the previous thirty years William Humfrey and the other patentees had fought a losing battle against the leadworkers of Derbyshire in defense of a patent to a process that was not new, and the debate over the company's patents helped clarify the critical distinctions between a scheme for private gain and a monopoly in the public interest which would ultimately be spelled out in the Act of 1624. A chemical engineer, himself, Donald can unravel the most complex scientific process; yet he is a true historian with his steady interest in the individuals behind the technology or the patent. Wide-ranging search in manuscript materials lies behind both the biographies and the explanation of the technology. The book is not easy to read, for it is both ill proportioned and unnecessarily abstracted from the main stream of Elizabethan history. Nevertheless, it does much to restore the history of technology, so often patronized by pure scientists and misunderstood by simple historians, to its truly central place in the story of man's interaction with his environment.

Smith College

T. C. MENDENHALL

THE HISTORICAL REVOLUTION: ENGLISH HISTORICAL WRITING AND THOUGHT, 1580-1640. By F. Smith Fussner. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xxiv, 343. \$7.50.) This book contains much information and thought about historical work in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Fussner discusses at length the context for history in the period: the intellectual background with its tendencies toward secularism; the strong influence of the legal tradition in England; the state of historical materials, particularly the public records; and the important place of antiquarianism, with emphasis upon a key organization, the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries. He describes the sorts of history written during the period, revealing a variety that will be striking to those unfamiliar with the subject. He deals in detail with such leading figures as Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Stow, William Camden, Sir Francis Bacon, and John Selden; there is a chapter on

each. His intention is to suggest ways in which "new techniques, attitudes, and facilities for research were developed" that made the period a "revolution" from medieval ways and prepared the ground for the achievements described by David C. Douglas in *English Scholars, 1660-1730*. He explicitly denies any intention of presenting a history of historiography, and so perhaps a reader who does not gain from the book a picture of the period as a whole, related to the preceding and following periods, should not be disappointed. One cannot be entirely sure that there was a revolution. It is as if the French Revolution were presented through discussion of some aspects of the society in which it took place, some activities of various groups involved at different times in the Revolution, and the work of some key figures, without any broad characterization of the Revolution as a whole. Disappointment is assuaged by fascination with the mass of detail presented and with the profundity of reflection on many aspects of historical work.

Emory University

WALTER D. LOVE

WILLIAM LAMBARDE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: HIS "EMPHEMERIS" AND TWENTY-NINE CHARGES TO JURIES AND COMMISSIONS. Edited by *Conyers Read*. [Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1962. Pp. xi, 189. \$3.50.) ADVICE TO A SON: PRECEPTS OF LORD BURGHELEY, SIR WALTER RALEIGH, AND FRANCIS OSBORNE. Edited by *Louis B. Wright*. [Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1962. Pp. xxvi, 114. \$3.00.) It is fitting that Dr. Conyers Read's last work should be published by the Folger Shakespeare Library. Just as he was the greatest of the Tudor historians in the United States, the Folger Library has become, for this country, the chief center of Tudor and Stuart studies. Read himself was greatly indebted to the Folger; in the preface to *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* he praised the library not only for "its unrivalled collection of sixteenth-century books" but also for "the quiet beauty of its surroundings and the competence and courtesy of its staff." That his last work should be the first volume of the recently inaugurated "Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization" illustrates the continuity of Tudor studies in the United States. *William Lambarde and Local Government*, ably edited by Read, consists of two sets of documents, both in the Folger Library. The first is "An Ephemeris of the Certifiable Causes of the Peace, from June, 1580 till September, 1588, 30 Elizabethae Reginae," a kind of diary or memorandum book containing notes that Lambarde, as justice of the peace in the western division of Kent, found necessary or desirable to record; the second consists of twenty-nine of Lambarde's charges to juries and commissions between 1582 and 1601. The "Ephemeris," by far the more interesting document, gives much information on the activities of a justice of the peace and the great variety of cases he heard. There are, of course, a large number of cases involving breach of the peace, thievery (especially of sheep and other livestock), poaching, assault, homicide, and others; for some of the more interesting cases the notations are tantalizingly brief. There is, for example, the case of Edward Long, who was sent to the house of correction "for offering fear to such as dwelt alone"; or the case of Jane Cowper, who was given a like sentence "at the complaint of the better sort of the parish." The number of cases involving bastardy seems high considering the harsh penalties imposed: for the mother either whipping or imprisonment, or both; for the father, if known and not fled, usually confinement in the house of correction. A much different aspect of Elizabethan and early Stuart society is presented in the second volume of the "Folger Documents," *Advice to a Son*, edited by Dr. Louis B. Wright. Four precepts by three writers are given: two by Lord Burghley and one each

by Sir Walter Raleigh and Francis Osborne, all of them either aristocrats or representatives of the aristocratic viewpoint. Since three of the four precepts have been published previously (the exception is Burghley's "A Memorial for Thomas Cecil"), the volume is less important for the professional historian than it is for the student or general reader. The last will also profit from Wright's excellent introduction which gives brief sketches of the writers and explains how each of the precepts "caught the spirit of the age."

Temple University

ROBERT C. JOHNSON

JONATHAN SWIFT AND IRELAND. By *Oliver W. Ferguson*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 217. \$5.00.) Jonathan Swift devoted much of his time to political liberty in his native Ireland. Ireland in the eighteenth century was faced by problems unparalleled in any other country, problems created by curtailment of exports, virtual destruction of the woolen industry, the use of land for grazing instead of tillage, absenteeism, three bitterly opposed religious factions, bigotry, and conflicting alliances. Reluctant at first to accept a church appointment in Ireland, Swift gradually became involved in these matters and wrote many tracts on proposals for alleviating Ireland's domestic conditions. Ferguson has traced Swift's dedication to the cause of liberty from his first writings at the age of forty, re-establishing with certainty his position as the "Irish Patriot." Swift's first tract, *The Story of the Injured Lady*, was allegorical. In it he opposed the union of England and Scotland because it emphasized the unhappy, subordinate status of Ireland. In subsequent tracts he frequently presented his plan for domestic consumption of domestic products in Ireland. As the draper, he wrote a series of *Letters* in opposition to the granting of a patent to issue copper coins in Ireland. In writing these and other pamphlets, Swift was trying to fulfill his responsibility by telling the Irish people their duty and then convincing them of it. He attempted much for Ireland, even at the risk of having a price placed on his head, and expected much in return. He never forgave the Irish for not responding more fully to his call. Dr. Ferguson has carefully and thoroughly developed the relationship of Jonathan Swift to Ireland. His careful analysis of Swift's tracts and use of well-chosen excerpts from them provide an excellent and highly readable account of the satirist's role in Anglo-Irish affairs during the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

Arlington, Virginia

HOMER L. CALKIN

THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY: AN HISTORICAL ESSAY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FINDING LIST. By *John G. Sperling*. [The Kress Library of Business and Economics, Publication Number 17.] (Boston: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1962. Pp. xii, 92. \$4.00.) The history of the South Sea Company consists of *longueurs* punctuated with purple passages. The dream of a commercial empire that never came into existence is the one constant feature; otherwise, as the company plays its many parts, the tale is utterly discontinuous. Most of the time the company is on the edge of the stage; thrice it takes the center. Of the vast literature on the subject, most of it ephemeral, the finest collection is in the Kress Library. Sperling, who has already made some useful contributions to the company's early history, here brings together a fairly comprehensive list of material and introduces it with a competent survey of the company's career. Minor errors have crept in, but the whole remains an aid to scholarship, which students of business history, particularly of the complex period between the foundation of the company and the Bubble, will find invaluable. Among the useful contributions in the introduction is conclusive

establishment of the fact that the syndicate responsible for the 1720 scandal consisted of the very men who had propounded the original scheme of 1710.
London, England

JOHN CARSWELL

PORTRAIT OF A PATRIOT: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN WILKES. By *Charles Chenevix Trench*. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1962. Pp. 412. 30s.) A new biography of Wilkes has long been needed, since the biographies by Postgate (1929) and Sherrard (1930) were written before Sir Lewis Namier revolutionized the understanding of the period and inspired a mass of new research. Trench has incorporated some of the new viewpoints into his biography and has told the story of Wilkes in greater detail than the earlier biographers, but he has not succeeded in getting behind the colorful façade of Wilkes. The author's research is remarkably thorough and wide ranging, but often uncritical. His book is best when he is telling the story of Wilkes. His vacuum sweeper research gives us all the witticisms (authentic and apocryphal), all the adventures (creditable and discreditable), all the love affairs (requited and unrequited, usually the former), and all the animal vitality and delightful humanity of Wilkes. The author does not disguise his partisanship for Wilkes. Opponents of Wilkes are consistently portrayed in unflattering colors, and Wilkes's claims for himself are taken at face value. Many exceptions may be taken to those parts of the book that give general historical background. The author has read Namier and Sedgwick, but he demonstrates what many have long suspected: new interpretations can yield distortions fully as bad as the old. Although the author has used the new research, it has not significantly affected his conception of Wilkes. Slight influences of the work of George Rudé are discernible, but Miss Sutherland's astute analysis of London politics and Wilkes has passed unheeded. The Wilkes legend—the self-made legend of a superb political agitator—has triumphed again. For a thoughtful exposition of the role of Wilkes in parliamentary politics, in London politics, and in early radicalism, the reader must look elsewhere. This lively biography gives us the most detailed account of Wilkes's tumultuous life and as such is a useful contribution to the literature on Wilkes.

Illinois State Normal University

E. A. REITAN

YORKSHIRE AND ENGLISH NATIONAL POLITICS, 1783-1784. By *N. C. Phillips*. [University of Canterbury Publications, Number 2.] (Christchurch, N. Z.: the University. 1961. Pp. 60. 6s.6d.) Long before eighteenth-century constitutional studies attained their present proportions, the general election of 1784 was recognized as a landmark in English political history. It was the contest in which the Fox-North coalition was defeated and the way paved for the Younger Pitt's first ministry. And in its treatment by historians, at least from Lecky onward, one can almost trace the changing fashions in historiography through the intervening years. N. C. Phillips, in this well-reasoned essay, discusses briefly the work of his predecessors in the field and then offers his own interpretation. Basing his conclusions on much hitherto unused material, the author analyzes the election in a pivotal county, Yorkshire. He shows how a struggle that began with purely local issues became enmeshed in matters of national import and contends that in the end the York election helped to shape the outcome of both national and local events. Hence, "historical dialectic drives inquiry back to the localities." It is an interesting and provocative approach. With the cooperative "History of Parliament" now in process and new local archives opening up, we should have more studies of this kind.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

BRITISH RELATIONS WITH SIND, 1799-1843: AN ANATOMY OF IMPERIALISM. By *Robert A. Huttenback*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 161. \$4.00.) This book sets out "to delineate some of the motivations for imperial expansion in Sind, in India, and possibly in the rest of the empire." It is concerned with what the author considers "one of the major paradoxes in the history of the nineteenth-century British Empire," namely, that expansion of power in India came at a time when authorities in London strongly opposed further territorial acquisition. Huttenback presents a succinct narrative of British decisions and actions. In clear language and with sound scholarship, he traces affairs in Sind from the time when the company was only one of the contending powers in India to the time when the company's system of power spread its authority over India. He shows how commercial interest in Sind became increasingly mingled with strategic and political considerations. Fears for security and hopes for gain led to quickening diplomatic and military activity, to preponderance, and ultimately to outright annexation. He dissects the British, their policies, their national prejudices and inconsistencies, their private aspirations, their inner doubts, and such other attitudes as touched upon relations with Sind. But unfortunately, this "anatomy of imperialism" is only one eyed. While one eye is certainly fixed upon British behavior, another eye, for the vitality of Indian society and institutions, would have added essential distinction and conceptual dimension. To see "imperialism" in the usual stereotypes of our own day, charged with ideological electricity, is not to see with precision the subtle interconnections of two imperial traditions of a bygone era. The company *bahadur* was an Anglo-Indian amalgam, whose prestige, if not survival, necessitated expansion. In the imperial tradition of India, the company stood as the dynastic symbol and successor of the Mogul raj. As such, its destiny was as compelling as that by which it symbolized the British nation. When seen in perspective as the Indian Empire (or Anglo-Indian Empire), Huttenback's paradox disappears. Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Munro, and Bentinck acted in an "uncharacteristic manner" because their years in India gave them a characteristic outlook quite different from that in London. Indianized officers with Indian subordinates tended to act and think in the imperial tradition of India. No Indian Empire could afford to leave Sind alone—for long.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT ERIC FRYKENBERG

LUKE GRAVES HANSARD, HIS DIARY, 1814-1841: A CASE STUDY IN THE REFORM OF PATRONAGE. Edited with an introduction by *P. and G. Ford*. [Parliamentary Papers Series.] (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1962. Pp. liv, 225. 42s.) What might as accurately be subtitled "a case study in the art of political manipulation," Luke Graves Hansard's diary tells of his rearguard action to retain the family monopoly on publishing papers of the House of Commons. The story of Hansard's struggle to preserve this patronage against the zeal of reformers like Joseph Hume and the machinations of business rivals anxious to share the profits of government printing is admirably summarized by the Fords in the introduction. But it is the personal day-to-day record of that struggle, the numerous appearances before parliamentary committees, and lobbying at Westminster that offer such a vivid picture of Parliament in action. Hansard was not unsuccessful in stemming the tide of reform and competition that threatened to engulf the firm's fortunes despite a bitter family dispute and the fascinating but expensive diversion caused by the famous libel suit of *Stockdale v. Hansard*. Hansard's character takes form in the pages of his diary. Conscientious and politic, he was given to private catechism at moments of public or private stress. The results of these intensely personal analyses confirmed his sense of righteousness and, no doubt, armed him to meet the continued attacks of his enemies. Despite the

editors' introductory claim that the diary broadens our understanding of Victorian social history, its greatest value is in the revelations of the effects of reform movements on a London monopoly and how, by judicious politics, these effects were moderated and postponed. Less valuable as a research tool than the other volumes in the Fords' indispensable "Parliamentary Papers Series," Hansard's diary nonetheless offers valuable insights into the working of the nineteenth-century constitution.

University of Illinois

GORDON L. GOODMAN

DEMOCRACY AND THE COST OF POLITICS IN BRITAIN. By *William B. Gwyn*. (London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 256. \$5.60.) This thoroughly documented, ably written study supplements the work of Norman Gash's *Politics in the Age of Peel*. Gwyn is mainly concerned with the cost of politics during the period 1832-1918. There is a satisfactory introduction on the cost of a parliamentary career prior to 1832 and the efforts of reformers, particularly in the clauses of the second part of the Reform Act of that year, to control electoral expenditures. Two main themes run throughout the book: the relatively high official and unofficial cost of elections and the problem of payment of members of the House of Commons. The declining economic power of the aristocracy, the hotly contested election of 1880, in which 87.5 per cent of the constituencies were contested as against 41 per cent in 1847 (including most of the costly county constituencies, previously largely uncontested), and the mounting cost of general elections were the determining factors in influencing the House of Commons to pass the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883. The extension of the suffrage in 1832, 1867, and 1884 led to a slow but certain change of attitude of the British working classes, which was reflected in the revival of the Radical and Chartist programs for increased labor representation and payment of members of the House of Commons. The Labour party drew useful lessons from the experience of the Irish National Parliamentary party with its strong party discipline and sizable election funds drawn from small donations of the Irish peasantry and Irish-American supporters. The efforts of the Labour party, by reliance upon the trade-unions, to achieve party discipline and raise adequate electoral funds are thoroughly analyzed by the author as is the party's reaction to the Taff Vale decision and the Osborne judgment of 1909. By detailed documentation and careful argument, Gwyn makes his case "that the payment of members of the House of Commons provided by the law of 1911 was not a means for achieving political democracy in Britain but a symptom of its success."

State University of New York, Cortland

GILBERT A. CAHILL

THE DESTRUCTION OF LORD RAGLAN: A TRAGEDY OF THE CRIMEAN WAR, 1854-55. By *Christopher Hibbert*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1961. Pp. xxi, 338. \$6.50.) In this absorbing and well-written book Mr. Hibbert has set himself a double purpose: to write a military history of the Crimean War and to vindicate its conduct by Lord Raglan, the British commander in chief. In the first object the author has brilliantly succeeded; in the second, he has failed—perhaps inevitably so. Traversing the same ground as Kinglake over seventy years ago, Hibbert describes the campaigns vividly and in detail, and makes them live anew. He has drawn upon a large variety of manuscripts and on numerous printed sources not available to Kinglake. His mastery of materials and gift for narrative are equally impressive. After so graphic a revelation, however, of the appalling hardships endured by the troops during the terrible winter of 1854-1855, it was a mistake to make so ineffectual and indecisive a commander as Raglan "the central figure of the tragedy." For even Hibbert reveals him as largely responsible for the disasters that occurred. Thus, against his better

judgment, Raglan weakly acquiesced in French military plans. "In the face of the enemy," he "was much too ready to think of himself as an adviser rather than as a leader." The lack of precision in his orders, Hibbert concedes, "was one of the tragedies of Lord Raglan's command." Just such an order led to the blunder of Balaclava. One wonders whether Raglan's concern for the feelings of his subordinates, which Hibbert stresses, was not basically a distrust of his own powers of military judgment. In consequence of the "almost obsessional dislike of popular enthusiasm" that he shared with his idol, Wellington, Raglan failed to encourage his troops with his presence, thereby neglecting the supremely important factor of morale. Worse still, like Wellington he was an inveterate enemy of reform in the service. The author is at pains to show that the system rather than the commander was at fault. Yet even after Inkerman, Raglan defended "the excellence of the present system." As Lord Panmure truly stated: "Raglan will never of his own accord make any change." Raglan's strong prejudice against experienced British officers of the Indian army is not even mentioned in this book. Under these circumstances, the attacks upon Raglan's conduct of the war were not as "unreasonable" as Hibbert represents. Particularly unjust is his treatment of Russell of the *Times*. Russell's observation that "the aristocracy are trifling with the safety of the Army in the Crimea" is amply substantiated in the pages of this work. It seems gratuitous to ascribe Russell's well-justified criticisms either to "vindictiveness" or to personal pique. The truth is that neither by temperament nor by experience was Raglan qualified for the highest command. He may have been "a dear old Christian Gentleman," but he was not a leader of men. From this book, as from Mrs. Woodham-Smith's, he emerges less a tragic than a pathetic figure.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON: A CENTENARY HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON, 1862-1962. By *A. Temple Patterson*. (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1962. Pp. 245, 25s.) The modern (or provincial) university movement in England started with the foundation of Owen's College, Manchester, in 1851. Hartley College, Southampton, opened by the Earl of Palmerston with great *élan* in 1862, was the second of these endowments, although it was not then specifically designed for university education. It was not until 1952, however, that it achieved full university status with the right to award its own degrees. The author of this centenary history, reader in regional history at the university and well known for his *Radical Leicester*, traces here the trials, tribulations, and triumphs experienced in this long haul. Dogged continually by lack of finance, with an underpaid and overworked staff, often unclear as to the direction of development, improvising, sometimes brilliantly, sometimes disastrously, caught between the cross fire of competing local interests and personalities, the struggling college of the 1880's, 1890's, and later miraculously made the grade and emerged successfully into the relatively pacific waters of full recognition and government support. The author describes in considerable detail the struggles of the institution at different stages, illuminating, incidentally, the intricacies of local government as it developed in the late nineteenth century and its relations with the central government, for Hartley College was originally a borough institution. This is largely an institutional and administrative history, based on a very full use of local sources and placing the university effectively within the setting of its region. The remarkably rapid expansion since 1939 (a sixfold increase in the number of students) is fully brought out. It contains, however, little strictly educational discussion of such matters as the content and methods of education or of university purposes and aims, while the cata-

logging of professorial changes and other minutiae is something of a bore to the general reader. This is, however, probably inevitable in an official and commemorative history, in this case written with the authority and *expertise* one has come to expect from its author.

University of Leicester

BRIAN SIMON

CHIEF WHIP: THE POLITICAL LIFE AND TIMES OF ARETAS AKERS-DOUGLAS 1ST VISCOUNT CHILSTON. By *Eric Alexander 3rd Viscount Chilston*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962. Pp. xiii, 370. \$7.50.) This is more than a biography of a minor political figure. It is an evaluation of the leading personalities and a description of the distinctive issues of British politics from the seventies until 1910 when Aretas Akers-Douglas, then Lord Chilston, "Chief Whip" of the Conservative party for most of his mature life, retired from politics. The book gives admirable insight into the details of party management and the complicated interaction of personality and issues. While Akers-Douglas is the ostensible subject, great portions of the book become an analysis of the career of Lord Randolph Churchill and the somewhat torpid leadership of Lord Salisbury. It is argued that Churchill's party suffered his poses, his sudden verbal assaults upon colleagues in the House, and his irresponsible pursuit of power because of his demagogic skills and resonance with the new democratic electorate. His career and self-imposed retirement (part political and part medical in motive) are described within the context of his response to current issues, the major one being Irish Home Rule. The book suggests the polarization of politics around popular leaders, which for the author meant a steadily narrowing temper of political response, a stiffening of discipline, and a decline of eccentricity and freedom. The growth of restrictions on the M.P. was the consequence of the widened franchise. Yet there is Joseph Chamberlain's letter of rebuke to Akers-Douglas that "a Col. on active service" had been chosen to run in a working-class district when "a Mr. Woodcocke the great trycycle maker" would have been less offensive to lower-class sensibilities. Akers-Douglas is almost effaced from the book. He lurks continuously in the background, as a good "Whip" perhaps should, while the photographs tell the story of his transition from slender manhood to portly middle age. Toward the end the concentration on Akers-Douglas diminishes into letters and memos which lack assimilation into any major theme.

American University

ALBERT D. MOTT

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series). Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. FOOD. Volume III, STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL. By *R. J. Hammond*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York, 1962. Pp. xiii, 836. \$14.00 postpaid.) This is the concluding volume of a trilogy devoted to food in the "Civil Series" of the official British history of the Second World War. The first was concerned mainly with the growth of policy, while the second studied the administration and control of foods that were mostly home produced. The present volume is made up of five studies, augmented by numerous appendixes and appendix tables, of foodstuffs largely imported: sugar, meat and livestock, bacon and ham, oils and fats, and wheat, flour, and bread. For the most part it emphasizes problems of procurement, including some delicate negotiations with allies and neutrals alike, and the financial arrangements that stemmed from the ownership of the commodities in question by the Ministry of Food. The scale of the work is rather more detailed than that of any volume of the "Civil Series." But it may well be justified by the argument that its complex accounts will be of the utmost value to persons with a professional

concern for the problems of food. On the whole, the author concludes, the five cases studied in this volume present food control at its peak; he appears to be less critical of the Ministry of Food's Commodity Division than in the earlier volumes. Taken together the three volumes are almost literally monumental in size and certainly thoroughgoing in content. The first will be read by and will be useful to many students of the economic history of the Second World War; the second and third will more than repay the attention of specialists in food and agriculture.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *Sir James Butler*. THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. Volume III, THE DECISIVE BATTLES. By *S. Woodburn Kirby*, with *C. T. Addis et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1961. Pp. xix, 559. \$12.60 postpaid.) Third of the five-volume survey of the *War against Japan*, this work continues the high standard of sober scholarship characteristic of the "United Kingdom Military Series." Major General Kirby and his associates here deal with the year from August 1943 to August 1944 when the tide turned against Japan in Southeast Asia. Although chiefly concerned with the Burma-India border areas where Commonwealth forces were most heavily involved against Japan, they have sought to present the war in perspective by including chapters on China and the Pacific. They attribute Allied success in Southeast Asia to good generalship, superior air power, and efficient administrative organization. Conversely, they ascribe Japan's disastrous defeat to the inflexibility of the Japanese commanders who refused to halt their inadequately supported attacks on Imphal and elsewhere until it was too late. The British historians are especially critical of the confused system of inter-Allied command in which Admiral Mountbatten, the supreme commander in Southeast Asia, was bypassed more than once by the American chiefs of staff and by Lieutenant General Joseph W. Stilwell, whose numerous titles included that of deputy supreme commander. They ably present the British view of a problem that has already been searchingly examined by Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland in the American official history of the China-Burma-India Theater. Extended treatment is also accorded the Long Range Penetration Groups, the famous "Chindits" which were organized by Major General O. C. Wingate to operate as guerrillas behind Japanese lines. Charging that Wingate abandoned his own precepts on guerrilla tactics, Kirby and his colleagues suggest that the controversial hero may have been saved from humiliation or worse by his death in an air crash.

University of Texas

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *C. M. Woodhouse*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 255. \$6.50.) In his introduction Mr. Woodhouse announces to reviewers that his book is superficial. One cannot quarrel with this statement, but his further description of his work as a critical examination of British foreign policy in the fifteen years under review is, unfortunately, not very apt. Its first part is a long, sixty-page rehash of international affairs between 1945 and 1959, the purpose of which, since any analysis is deliberately kept at a minimum, it is difficult to discern. Part II, the heart of the volume, is an account of the British reaction to the events of these years. It moves from defense policy to British connections with various allies, proceeds to comment on the interaction of foreign policy and the domestic economy, and discusses Britain's special

relation with the United States. Subsequently Woodhouse describes the influence of Commonwealth countries on British policy, comments on the implications of the increasing importance of the smaller states and the new nations for that policy, and finally turns to the United Nations and the effect of party politics on foreign policy. At no point does he present much information on the subjects he discusses. His account of defense policy may be used as an illustration of his method. A chapter of some fifteen pages, it is literally composed of précis of Defence White Papers from 1946 to 1959, strung together in series with almost no mortar of assessment or explanation to hold it together. Other chapters are not quite such starkly simple repetitions of official policy papers, but the technique is indicative of Woodhouse's approach. His conclusions, which appear as "The Quest for New Relationships" in Part III, offer the unexceptional comment that Britain is no longer able to act alone in the world plus the author's own opinion that neither in a united Europe nor an Atlantic community, nor indeed in a changing Commonwealth, is Britain likely to find a new kind of sovereign unit to enable it to stand on equal terms with the giant powers of the mid-century. These may be sound conclusions, but they bear little relationship to the account that precedes them and require much more analysis than Woodhouse has felt it necessary to afford them. It is a pity that this former director-general of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, who has been a distinguished soldier, able businessman, and successful politician, should have written such a routine book. Clearly the reticence of high position is often a handicap to scholarship.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN ENGLAND AND WALES: THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE, 1948-1961. By *Almont Lindsey*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 561. \$8.50.) As the most ambitious attempt by a major democratic country to provide complete medical care and related services as a normal perquisite of citizenship, the British National Health Service is already the subject of an extensive bibliography. Almont Lindsey now contributes a comprehensive survey of National Health's history thus far, based on monographs, periodicals, personal interviews, and the reports produced by official and semiofficial investigatory bodies, such as the Guillebaud Committee. No aspect of the National Health Service goes untouched, from dental and ophthalmic services to midwifery and the provision of domestic help to stricken housewives. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by its tables, bibliography, and full documentation (although one could wish that politicians would not so often be quoted anonymously, without even an indication as to party affiliations). On most of the controversial points, Lindsey concludes that NHS has been a success, or at least that it has done as well as could be expected, given some of the handicaps confronting it, including the obsolescence of many British hospitals and other facilities after the war and the tangled organization and uneven coverage of the prewar health insurance program. He finds little sign of extravagance; medical costs in Britain are a smaller proportion of gross national product than in the United States. Where the NHS has made the least progress, the way has been barred, either by the country's economic difficulties (as in the building of new hospitals) or by cultural obstacles not easily overcome (the low esteem in which dentistry was held in Britain). For background and for the early years, scholars will still need Harry Eckstein's incisive *English Health Service* (1959). Lindsey's account is detailed and sometimes repetitious, but it is even-tempered, thorough, and clear. For the most recent years, particularly, it is a valuable work of reference.

Stanford University

RICHARD W. LYMAN

EUROPE

RECHERCHES SUR LES EFFECTIFS DES ARMÉES FRANÇAISES DES GUERRES D'ITALIE AUX GUERRES DE RELIGION, 1494-1562. By *Ferdinand Lot*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. 288.) Ferdinand Lot's book on the size of the French armies during the sixteenth century is a by-product of his *L'Art militaire et les armées au moyen âge* (1946). It was written between 1943 and 1947. The author added a preface in 1951, but he died the following year before he had had an opportunity to revise his manuscript. Under these circumstances, there is an element of unfairness in criticizing the book, but one may suspect that even if the author had lived the book would not have enhanced his reputation. Its principal fault is that it is too narrowly conceived, being little more than an attempt to determine the varying size of the French army. Questions on recruitment, organization, supply, finance, and training, for example, are neglected, and one looks in vain for comments on how the size of the army was affected by society or on how the existence and needs of the army affected royal domestic policy. Lot's figures show that the French army was over twice as large on the eve of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 as it had been at the time of the invasion of Italy in 1494, but no explanation is given on how the crown was able to bring about this increase. The book is almost devoid of interpretation and has, presumably because of the premature death of the author, no conclusion. On the other hand, the book does serve a useful purpose. Contemporary statements and data on the size of the French army at various times are analyzed, and some archival material is published. On the whole Lot's judgment seems sound although one may wonder whether the *lance* of six men should be counted as having only four on the grounds that two of its members were noncombatants. Lot publishes several military budgets, but there is no way to tell whether there was actually a soldier for each salary claimed by a military commander. These problems are inherent in any study of the size of the Renaissance armies, and in spite of some shortcomings, scholars will be grateful for the publication of this book.

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

Emory University

DIDASCALIAE: STUDIES IN HONOR OF ANSELM M. ALBAREDA, PREFECT OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY, PRESENTED BY A GROUP OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS. Edited by *Sesto Prete*. (New York: Bernard M. Rosenthal. 1961. Pp. xiv, 530. \$28.00.) These studies were prepared to honor Father (now Cardinal) Anselm Albareda, prefect of the Vatican Library, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment to that office. Professor Sesto Prete of Fordham University was formerly a research scholar in the Vatican Library and thus had ample opportunity to become intimately acquainted with Albareda and his work. As prefect since 1936, he has not only continued the programs of development and publication inaugurated by his distinguished predecessors, Cardinals Franz, Ehrle, Giovanni Mercati, and Eugène Tisserant, but he has also done much on his own initiative to make the Vatican Library a model center of scholarly research. After the introduction, which is concerned with the achievements of Albareda, there are a total of twenty-two studies. Because most of the contributions belong to philology rather than to history, only the following need be mentioned here: Halecki, "The Defense of Europe in the Renaissance Period"; Marti, "Gomez versus the Spanish College at Bologna"; Schmid, "Urgentibus Imperii Fatis (Tac. Ger. 33)"; Wallach, "The Unknown Author of the *Libri Carolini* . . ." As a whole the volume maintains a higher standard of scholarship than is found in most *Festschriften*. Several studies, in fact, may be characterized as outstanding and exceptionally valuable contributions. The book is furnished with a number of figures

and plates and is satisfactorily printed, but it has no index and is very shabbily bound. The price is much too high.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE

CORRESPONDANCE DE THÉODORE DE BÈZE. Volume II (1556-1558). Collected by *Hippolyte Aubert*. Published by *F. Aubert et al.* [Société du Musée historique de la Réformation. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume XLIX.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1962. Pp. 284.) The relatively brief period covered by this volume was a busy and rather stormy one for Beza. Much of his time was taken up with two related endeavors: to ameliorate the condition of the Protestant subjects of Henry II of France and to reach some basis of concord between the Swiss Reformed churches and the German Lutherans. Though he felt that he had had some limited success in the first of these tasks, he failed in the second, caught between the intransigence of the Lutherans and the suspicions of the Swiss Reformers, especially Bullinger. Calvin was more sympathetic with Beza's attempts at conciliation. As in the previous volume of this series [see *AHR*, LXVI (Apr. 1961), 796], every effort has been made to establish the best possible text of the letters and supplementary documents printed here. The footnotes are detailed, carefully identify persons and events mentioned in the documents, and refer not only to the published literature but also to unpublished archival material. The editors of this valuable series are doing their work exceedingly well.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

THE MASSACRE OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW. By *Henri Noguères*. Translated by *Claire Eliane Engel*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. 168. \$3.50.) The crimes of Saint Bartholomew's Day are reported once again by the French journalist Henri Noguères. Like the publication that Noguères edits, *Aux carrefours de l'histoire*, his *Massacre* is intended to stimulate popular reflection about history rather than to refine the scholar's understanding of it. Unfortunately, his introductory material on personalities, politics, and religion is sometimes less accurate than the nonspecialist deserves, while his conclusion on the long and painful controversies to which the incident gave rise is less sophisticated than the nonspecialist could appreciate. In between is some exciting and well-verified reporting. Though the book is without bibliography and inadequately footnoted, Noguères has clearly used all the standard sixteenth-century sources on the massacre: L'Estoile, Brantôme, Tavannes, De Thou, Marguerite de Valois, Miron, and others. He has created from them an hour-by-hour account of those August days that is intensely real and terrifying. For the nonspecialist the advantage of his narrative over the equally vivid ones of the sixteenth century is that along the way he assembles and tries to reconcile impartially all the contradictory stories about what happened. The scholar will find little that is new in Noguères's interpretation except perhaps his psychological comments on the sibling rivalry between Anjou and Charles IX. Like most twentieth-century historians, he rejects the notion that Catherine had long planned to exterminate the Huguenots, as well as Romier's thesis on premeditation by the Guises. Henry of Guise emerges as a man revenging family honor by murdering Coligny, but also as a noble, if shrewd, warrior, above such butchery. Catherine is seen as a Machiavellian ruler, a frustrated woman, and a hysterical mother. Since the author has done little research on urban religious developments, Paris is shown merely as Catholic, fanatic, and greedy. Charles is sick, sick, sick. The strength of this book is in its dramatic narrative and in its expression, which the translator has only occasionally spoiled.

Brown University

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

FRENCH PROFILES: PROPHETS AND PIONEERS. By G. P. Gooch. (London: Longmans. 1961. Pp. viii, 291. 30s.) It is an old complaint that publishers' blurbs are misleading. But since publishers continue to produce them, and since they continue, sometimes, not to be altogether exact, what is one to do but continue to say so? Longmans here claims, "The book as a whole casts new light on France's eminence in the world of thought." This really is not true. Dr. Gooch's essays are gracious and pleasing, but they do not illuminate much that was hitherto obscure. They are simply more like the recent studies he has been bringing out, sympathetic, narrative, literary in style. Possibly one may say—without seeming to assume a grotesque condescension toward so distinguished a historian—that these are bedside reading for a generation of gentlefolk who have largely taken leave of our world. Or almost so, if the tranquil pages of the *Contemporary Review* (to which Gooch contributed some of these and other essays) did not exist to attest to the lingering tenacity of the nineteenth century. French history, we are told, divides at 1789. Half the pages here are devoted to pre-revolutionary figures, half to those of the postrevolutionary era. In fact, this means that all the prerevolutionary names are associated with the Enlightenment (Bayle, Saint-Pierre, Voltaire, and others). The rest belong to the various Catholic schools (Maistre, Veuillot, Lacordaire, Dupanloup, and others) or to "secular sociology" (Saint-Simon, Michelet, Taine, Sorel). Of the twenty chapters, only the one dealing with "Voltaire as Historian" is of any great length, and this is reprinted from *Catherine the Great and Other Studies*. The book is thus made up of brief sketches, drawing on memoirs, letters, and the formal works of the prophets and pioneers under review. It is difficult to know what to say about it, except that it may seem useful as an introduction to a variety of interesting people. More positively, one might add that it is remarkable as the product of a mature scholar. The writing is vigorous and clear, sometimes enthusiastic, and, even when dealing with subjects hardly congenial to the liberal temperament, never unfair. A younger man might have exposed his subjects' weaknesses and his own preferences (or the reverse) more forthrightly; whether in this case such portraits would have been better or worse is for every reader to judge. There are, of course, no scholarly apparatus, no bibliography, no index, and probably no need for them. All in all, this pleasant collection is proof again that, as Fred L. Hadsel has put it, "Liberal historians such as George Peabody Gooch are no longer being produced."

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE VOLTAIRE: CATALOGUE DES LIVRES (ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES DE L'URSS: INSTITUT DE LITTÉRATURE RUSSE [MAISON PUSHKIN]—BIBLIOTHÈQUE PUBLIQUE D'ÉTAT SALTYKOV-SHCHEDRIN). Edited by M. P. Alekseev and Tatiana N. Kopreeva, in consultation with V. S. Lublinsky. (Moscow: Éditions de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS. 1961. Pp. 1171. 3 rubles, 50 kopecks.) Voltaire's library had to be unusually voluminous and complete because, living far from Paris as he did, he could not rely upon loans or public libraries for his access to books. And since his stock in trade was to continue to be controversial, and since, to be the arbiter of Parisian opinion, he had to know what was being published there, he accumulated at Ferney a working library that was amazingly comprehensive. This was the library that was sold to Catherine the Great after his death and which, after being housed in The Hermitage, is now accessible, undispersed, in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad. Students of intellectual history will welcome the publication of this extremely well-edited catalogue, which has been in preparation, off and on, since 1929. It is not only of use in the study of Voltaire—for example, it indicates for each item whether the book bears any marginalia or other

signs of Voltaire's having read it—but it also constitutes a sort of bibliographical source book of the Age of Enlightenment. Since the *Catalogue* has been published in an edition of only fifteen hundred copies, university and college libraries would be wise to purchase it while they still can.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

DENIS DIDEROT: UNE GRANDE FIGURE DU MATÉRIALISME MILITANT DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. By József Szigeti. [Studia Philosophica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 2.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1962. Pp. 94. Ft. 30.) The author of this monograph is director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This volume is the second in a series intended to make the work of Hungarian specialists in logic, ethics, and aesthetics, as well as in the history of philosophy and of dialectical materialism, available to foreign scholars. Accordingly, the studies are published in one of four languages: English, French, German, or Russian. Professor Szigeti is as militant himself as he conceives Diderot of having been. Thus on his very first page, in referring to the suspension of the *Encyclopédie* in 1752, he remarks, "One saw then, once again, as one can also see so many times in our day, the representatives of a reactionary clergy and an oppressive power united in good Christian harmony in the attempt to drown this vigorous new-born child in holy water." His pages, too, are peppered with references to Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and with appeals to their authority. This is, in short, an orthodox Marxist-Leninist work. The author amply demonstrates, nevertheless, that he is well grounded in the history of philosophy and the history of science. His pointing up the importance of Diderot's much-neglected *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature* is especially valuable. He contrasts meaningfully the dynamic, vitalistic materialism of Diderot with the static, mechanistic materialism of D'Holbach, on the one hand, and with the concealed idealism of the deists, on the other. He emphasizes the significance of Diderot's realizing, more than any of his contemporaries, that time and the elapsing of time, with its implications of successiveness and change, revolutionize one's philosophy of nature and one's understanding of the universe. And the author makes much of his contention that in political philosophy Diderot "was a thinker essentially plebeian." In summary, what this book is about is this: How much, and in what ways, was Diderot really a philosopher? Recent historiography, at least since Cassirer's *Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, is coming more and more to accept the view that Diderot was a philosopher as well as a philosophe: Paolo Casini's *Diderot "philosophe"* (1962) is a masterly contribution to this viewpoint. Szigeti's forceful argument will help to strengthen the trend.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. By Jack Lively. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 263. \$4.00.) Alexis de Tocqueville, famous for his *Democracy in America*, was also distinguished for other writings as well as for his mid-nineteenth-century political career in France. While most scholars have confined their attention to the *Democracy*, Mr. Lively, a lecturer at the University College of Swansea, has covered the broad range of Tocqueville's works to achieve a systematic study of his political and social thought. The result is a volume valuable to both the historian and the political scientist. The author reinforces the view of Tocqueville as a liberal aristocrat to whom freedom was "a sacred thing." Although Tocqueville accepted political democracy and the right of the majority to rule, he also feared the effect that society's power to enforce conformity would have on liberty. Lively makes the point that Tocqueville distinguished between democracy as a political process and democracy in the sense of the tyranny of mass opinion. Thus

he did not believe that political democracy had to depend directly in every instance on expressing the popular will. In America Tocqueville saw, Lively concludes, "not so much the dangers of an egalitarian society as successful resistance to them," and he looked to strong local self-government as the basis of a healthy democracy and as a means of preserving liberty in a democratic society. Decrying the popular tendency to regard Tocqueville as an omniscient prophet, critic, or advocate of democracy, Lively notes that he embraced political theory more modestly as a guide to his own political judgments and decisions. "His strength lies in his constant sense of the different potentialities open in any social situation. It is this that gave urgency to his whole discussion of democracy and especially to his defence of liberty." Although the author makes good use of the two major French editions of Tocqueville's writings, he relies chiefly on the classic *Democracy* and the *Ancien régime*.

American University

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

TOCQUEVILLE AND THE OLD REGIME. By *Richard Herr*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. 142. \$3.50.) With this brief revisionist study of Tocqueville's *Old Regime*, the author contends that in his new work Tocqueville returned, appearances notwithstanding, to the old theme of the relations of liberty and democracy which he had magnificently explored in their American aspects some twenty years earlier. Mr. Herr agrees that there are other levels on which the *Old Regime* may be and has been read. But the "ocean current," he insists, is Tocqueville's deep conviction that democracy in France had ended in tyranny rather than liberty not because of developments between 1789 and 1815 but out of the course of events in the prerevolutionary old monarchy. While France moved away from a decaying aristocratic society toward democracy more rapidly than the rest of Europe, the attributes of royal power increased disproportionately. Centralized absolutism was one legacy; much more important, the kings destroyed the intermediate power of the aristocracy which had preserved "a strange kind of liberty." The crown pitted class against class. It generated fear and hatred among Frenchmen. It created a narrow individualism rather than the necessary cooperation of heart and mind, idea and belief, for the common good. The kings, not the Revolution or Napoleon, made France unfit for freedom and the society of the future. It was the Bourbon kings who condemned future generations of Frenchmen to servitude. Tocqueville, so runs Herr's analysis, was profound in his understanding that democratic institutions could not be free unless liberty were joined to equality under the aegis of political democracy. Profound for his own time, Tocqueville was prophetic for the future. There is much of interest and value in this concise study as Herr skillfully elaborates on his theme, and to commend it and him is only fitting and proper. It is almost certain that his well-grounded, discerning, and lucid interpretation will stimulate fresh discussion of Tocqueville's masterpiece. Some readers, including me, may find that even in so brief a study the author has contrived to be a little repetitious, that his account of Tocqueville, his health and tribulations, is too full, and that his book, like Tocqueville's, is a tract for his times. These are minor points on which I would not insist. I would, however, raise a question over the author's large endorsement of Tocqueville in making the kings the villains of the piece. If one is not on entirely firm ground in making the later harsh developments *la faute à Rousseau* or perhaps *à Voltaire*, he may also exaggerate or even distort in making them, for 1856 or 1962, *la faute aux rois*.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

GEIJER: SOM HISTORIKER. By *Bengt Henningsson*. [Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 5.] (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget. 1961. Pp. xii, 506. 38.00 kr. S.) Although

Gooch called Geijer "the father of historical writing in Sweden," he devoted only thirteen lines to his work. Henningsson redresses the balance in a volume that has both the virtues and the faults of a doctoral dissertation. The first thirty-six pages are devoted to a survey of the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, and succeeding chapters open with similar background description—material vital for the author to know, less necessary to put in another book. On the other hand, the rigid limitation to discussion of Geijer as historian excludes from consideration his personal background and family life, his literary, religious, and political activities—matters not only important in themselves, but for Geijer surely as relevant to his lecturing and writing as was the climate of opinion in various European countries. A historian is a complete man, but here the inner interactions of this amazingly vigorous and versatile personality are obscured. The value of Henningsson's work lies in the careful description and analysis of Geijer's lectures as professor of history at Uppsala and of his historical writings from 1815 to 1847. The subject's sweeping interpretive view of history is explained as a result of his early study of philosophy. Geijer had a strong feeling for the cultural importance of history, for "a people lives not only in the present but in its memories." He was concerned with freedom, with the social philosophy of romanticism, and with morality and religion: "History is in its essence religious; a process of human education; a development toward a goal—the universal society." He emphasized facts and that facts should speak for themselves, but he knew how to make barbed comments on the facts, as when he called the Union of Kalmar "an occurrence that looked like an idea." He did not hesitate to evaluate men, though the only hero who came through his scrutiny with full approval was Gustavus Adolphus, who had "majesty in his soul," and whose "military greatness was balanced by his peaceful work, his religious idealism by his real-political vision." Henningsson finds in Geijer's early lectures something of the skepticism of the Enlightenment yet more of an exuberant romantic nationalism that made them extraordinarily popular with both town and gown. As Geijer delved more into the archives and read more widely, his independent mind made him more cautious on such items as the historicity of the myths and sagas. His study of Sweden's history plus his involvement in the affairs of his day led to an increasing conviction of the importance of the opposition between king and commoners on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other. This kind of rethinking led to his "apostasy" from conservatism in 1838 and to his taking up the liberal cause in the last decade of his life. Here is a detailed record of a powerful mind and spirit examining the history of his people, steadily shifting emphasis with advancing knowledge and changing times, but holding to fundamentals. The German summary of twenty-four pages is sufficiently substantial to give non-Swedish readers the essence of the account.

Stanford University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

PETER VEDEL, UDENRIGSMINISTERIETS DIREKTØR. Volume II, 1865-1911. By V. Sjøqvist. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 10.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1962. Pp. 387. 22.50 kr.) The completion of Viggo Sjøqvist's biography of the long-term (1858-1899) director of the Danish Foreign Office fulfills the promise of the first volume [*AHR*, LXIV (Oct. 1958), 170]. As permanent undersecretary and drafter of many of the most important dispatches, Vedel became more influential than several of the Foreign Ministers, and although his advice was not always followed, future events usually indicated he had been right. He had, for the most part, a canny realization of the strengths and weaknesses of the Great Powers and of the stresses under which they operated. He correctly sensed the efficient power of Prussia and used his influence to restrain the futile bitterness of his colleagues in the period after the loss of Schleswig-Holstein. He advised against an

alliance with France in 1870, although it was the speed of the Prussian advance rather than Vedel's arguments that saved Denmark from such a tragic blunder. The author repeatedly criticizes Aage Friis for his overestimation of Vedel and for his too-easy acceptance of Vedel's later reminiscences. He has used even more thoroughly than Friis the great wealth of the Vedel archives deposited since 1943 in Rigsarkiv, especially the diaries and other contemporary documents. The result is not any major reinterpretation, but a series of rectifications of detail in the evaluation of men and events. These include the negotiations for the sale of the Virgin Islands to the United States in the early and fruitless stages of 1867-1870 and 1896-1897; the attempt to establish neutrality, in which Vedel opposed unilateral Danish action, but favored common Scandinavian agreement (while he also understood its current impracticality); repeated but unsuccessful efforts to regain at least a part of Schleswig; and Denmark's successful effort to get along with its aggressively expanding neighbor to the south and to preserve its existence.

Stanford University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

BISMARCK, FRANKREICH UND DIE SPANISCHE THRONKANDIDATUR DER HOHENZOLLERN: DIE "KRIEGSCHULDFRAGE" VON 1870. By *Jochen Dittrich*. Introduction by *Gerhard Ritter*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1962. Pp. xiv, 465. DM 48.) Combining his earlier work in the Sigmaringen archives with a careful study of the materials from the German diplomatic archives first published by Georges Bonnin in 1957, Jochen Dittrich here presents the first examination of the Hohenzollern candidacy based on direct acquaintance with all pertinent documentary materials. It is a measure of the abilities of earlier historians that the release of the archival materials has not altered essentially the picture that they had developed by interpolation. Thus, on one level, Dittrich merely verifies these key facts: the Spanish in 1869 first broached the subject of the candidacy, they revived the idea in early 1870, and from that point Bismarck "made the candidacy" by being its fervent advocate to the time of the July crisis. While attending to these details, however, Dittrich is primarily concerned with the broader question of intent. On this level, he extensively examines all previous literature on the problem. He concludes that neither France nor Prussia wanted a war. The crisis that ended in war was the result of Gramont's hope to achieve a resounding diplomatic victory and of Bismarck's efforts to restrict that victory. These efforts included the editing of the Ems telegram to make the dismissal of Benedetti substantiate the impression that Prussia's retreat on the candidacy was not made from weakness. Dittrich makes a careful distinction between a willingness to accept war, which he attributes to Bismarck, and an actual will to war, which he denies Bismarck possessed. The author supports this view by placing the candidacy in the context of Bismarck's entire policy. In this light Dittrich sees the candidacy as an instrument for the encouragement of German unity (by strengthening Prussia). Bismarck persisted in his plan because he believed that Prussia could remain free of implication. The critical point in the crisis was the period July 6-12 when France, convinced of Prussia's involvement, passed the point of no return in its commitment to a policy of complete diplomatic victory. Bismarck meanwhile had determined to stand fast, not wanting war but willing to risk it rather than accept diplomatic defeat. Dittrich's argument is well documented, but, as he himself admits, the intentions ascribed to Bismarck are drawn by inference from the analysis of the Chancellor's policy, and so, lacking final documentary proof, they can never be wholly beyond dispute.

Alma College

WILLIAM J. MCGILL, JR.

LIBERALE PARTEIORGANISATION UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DES LINKSLIBERALISMUS, 1871-1893: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN

PARTEIGESCHICHTE. By *Ursula Steinbrecher*. [Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln.] (Cologne: [the Author.] 1960. Pp. 283.) Ursula Steinbrecher has produced a penetrating analysis of Leftist liberal party organization in Germany between 1871 and 1893. She discusses the Progressive party system, its program, and the organs of the Parliamentary party and its activities: Campaign propaganda, finances, publicity, party congresses, and local extraparlimentary organization. The work is well documented and contains a comprehensive bibliography of the standard works, memoirs, letters, pamphlets, statutes, periodicals, and party newspapers. The bibliography includes governmental and party records, platforms, and special reports. The book's basic aim is to fulfill an obvious need for continuity in all phases of German political and social life since the catastrophes of recent history. The author writes clearly and concisely, with excellent organization. Constant comparisons are drawn between liberal-bourgeois-middle-class parties and mass parties, such as the German Social Democratic party, and between American and English party caucuses. Both in England and America the widening of the suffrage to include the lower middle classes posed questions of winning, disciplining, and educating this new mass of voters. For German liberals, party organization posed the problem of the nature of liberalism, in England and America, questions of political tactics.

California State College

JOHN W. KELLER

AUS MEINEN TAGEN UND TRÄUMEN: MEMOIREN, AUFZEICHNUNGEN, BRIEFE, GESPRÄCHE. By *Kurt Breysig*. Edited by *Gertrud Breysig* and *Michael Landmann*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1962. Pp. xiii, 191. DM 26.) Kurt Breysig (1866-1940) was professor of history at the University of Berlin. His interests were unusually broad: he has been regarded as a forerunner of Oswald Spengler and as a founder of modern cultural history (*Kulturgeschichte*); he was a sociologist and a philosopher of history; he was interested in ethnography, in primitive peoples and in myths, in art and in poetry; he delivered the address at Nietzsche's funeral (1900) and was for many years (1899-1916) a close friend of the German poet Stefan George. In 1955 his "Die Geschichte der Menschheit" was published with an introduction by Arnold J. Toynbee. Characteristically the two largest volumes are devoted to "Die Anfänge der Menschheit" and "Völker ewiger Urzeit." Only the last volume, second shortest of the whole work, deals with world history since the end of the Middle Ages. His widow and Professor Michael Landmann of the Freie Universität Berlin have now published some of Breysig's diaries, conversations, and letters. Like many Germans of his generation, Breysig started as an enthusiastic nationalist and monarchist. He changed, therein unlike other German historians, after 1890, and in 1898 he wrote: "Ich möchte Gleichheit der Voraussetzungen, gleiche Luft- und Lichtmenge für alle . . . aber alle erdenklichen Klauseln zugunsten der Individualität. Für heute aber auch möglichste Abschwächung der nationalen Gegensätze, Vorbereitung des dauernden europäischen Friedens, friedliche Zivilisierung der Welt. Gegen Adel und gegen Erbrecht. Keine Agrar-, keine Handwerker-, keine Deutsche-Reich-Romantik." His was a universal mind. He was as eager to follow the developments of the natural sciences as of the social sciences and of art. In 1926 Max Planck wrote him: "Ich teile mit Ihnen die Überzeugung, dass es das Ziel einer jeden wirklich umfassenden Untersuchung der Wirklichkeit sein muss, die Geistes- und die Naturwissenschaften als eine Einheit zu begreifen, und weiter, dass der einzige sichere Weg zu diesem Ziel über die geschichtliche Werdenslehre geht." The present book is short, but it contains much fascinating reading for anyone interested in the intellectual history of the period.

University of Denver

HANS KOHN

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918-1945. Series D, 1937-1945. Volume VIII, DIE KRIEGSJAHRE. Part 1, 4. SEPTEMBER 1939 BIS 18. MÄRZ 1940. (Baden-Baden: P. Keppler Verlag KG. 1961. Pp. lxxx, 783.) Scholars will welcome resumption of publication of the German edition of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, begun as a British, French, and American undertaking in 1946. In Series D, covering the years 1937-1945, Volumes I-VII were published in a German edition between 1950 and 1956, but Volumes VIII-XI were available only in the British-American series. In 1960 a quadripartite commission—British, French, German, and American—was formed to select and edit the documents for the Weimar period. This international commission of scholars is composed of Hans Rothfels (Germany), Maurice Baumont (France), Alan Bullock (Great Britain), and Howard M. Smyth (United States), with Fritz T. Epstein as project director and chief editor. As an additional undertaking, the German editor's group is bringing up to date the German edition of Series D, beginning with Volume VIII, which has now appeared with Rothfels and Epstein as responsible editors. It is a compliment to the tripartite editors that their German associates have accepted the selection of documents, the organization, and the editorial work of the original volume [see review of Volume VIII, British-United States edition, *AHR*, LX (Jan. 1955), 364]. Comparison of the German and British-American editions shows them to be identical in all but minor details. In some instances where the English edition paraphrased from documents referred to but not reproduced, the German editors have substituted a brief excerpt from the original text. Likewise in the reference notes they have added some titles of works and publications not appearing in the original, and in other instances have substituted works more readily accessible to German scholars. The German editors have added a list (Appendix IV) of books and related documentary publications cited in the editorial footnotes and have provided a comprehensive name index, which the original lacked. They also announce the preparation of a name index for Volumes I-VII to be published as a supplementary work. I made some sample comparisons of translated documents in the English edition with the German originals. This convinced me that in the former we have a trustworthy translation which can be recommended to students and those who find the German original less readily available or the language a hindrance to rapid exploitation.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

DER DEUTSCHE WEHRMACHTBERICHT, 1939-1945: EIN BEITRAG ZUR UNTERSUCHUNG DER GEISTIGEN KRIEGSFÜHRUNG. MIT EINER DOKUMENTATION DER WEHRMACHTBERICHTE VOM 1. 7. 1944 BIS ZUM 9. 5. 1945. By *Erich Murawski*. [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 9.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1962. Pp. ix, 768. DM 28.) Both title and subtitle of this book clearly describe its contents. The work is designed to provide a picture of the nature, origins, distribution, and problems of the daily German communiqués during the war. The personal involvement of the author and the apologetic tone of the text classify this as a memoir rather than a monograph. The Soviet Union could hardly be the only country Germany attacked in violation of a treaty of nonaggression. The volume will be useful to historians of the war as well as of German propaganda. It contains not only hitherto uncollected communiqués for the last ten months of the war, but also indexes for those communiqués published unindexed in the semiofficial series *Deutschland im Kampf*. The volume offers no detailed analysis—to say nothing of confrontation with independent evidence—but it does serve to complete the record on the influential German official reports on the conduct of operations in World War II.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

HEYDRICH: HITLER'S MOST EVIL HENCHMAN. By *Charles Wighton*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Company. 1962. Pp. 288. \$5.50.) This Heydrich biography, by a British journalist, is a disconcerting book. There are neither notes nor a bibliography; thus the reader has no way of testing the credibility of some of its more startling passages, such as the claim that Heydrich was responsible for the attempt on Hitler's life in 1939 or that Heydrich was to have been the executor of a master plan for the extermination of thirty million Slavs. It is written with a racialism that is saved from true nastiness only by its unintended humor. (All manner of things, from the "craving for pastries" to the "ungainly form" of the Mercedes convertible are "typically" German, or rather "Teutonic." General von Fritsch, when confronted with a sudden accusation of homosexuality, and faced with a perjured witness, "like a typical Prussian general in any such situation . . . went as red as a lobster.") It is full of errors of fact: the *Schwarze Korps* shrinks to a tabloid; Göring is promoted to general in World War I; the Sudeten Germans acquire a leader named Heinlein. The writing is careless or worse ("He was in the same business as themselves") and the organization confusing. What makes one so intolerant about these defects is that Heydrich's story is a compelling and important one—after all, he may indeed have been the brain behind Himmler and one of the principal instigators of some of the worst crimes of the Third *Reich*—which deserves to be told with sounder judgment and a more decent regard for the facts.

Lewis and Clark College

JOACHIM REMAK

DOKUMENTATION DER VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUS OSTMITTELEUROPA. Volume V, DAS SCHICKSAL DER DEUTSCHEN IN JUGOSLAWIEN. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims. 1961. Pp. xx, 264, 633. DM 12.) This last volume of a series devoted to defining and illustrating the fate of the Germans in postwar Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia is fittingly the most thoroughly supported with genuine archival documentation and the fullest resource guide for other scholars of resettlement and postwar conditions in Eastern Europe. A really extensive selection of substantial accounts of all aspects of the life of the *Volksgruppe* since 1941 was made possible by the cooperation of many research institutes in West Germany and Austria. Professor Theodor Schieder and the *Wissenschaftliche Kommission*, which includes Hans Rothfels, Rudolf Laun, and Werner Conze, are to be congratulated on the underlying character of the series as a whole and of this volume in particular. The serious tone and the painstaking techniques of Dr. Hans-Ulrich Wehler's 115-page historical survey and of Heinrich Smilkalla's statistical analysis are far removed from ideas of revenge and recrimination. Of the 500,000 ethnic Germans in prewar Yugoslavia, 98,000 died as a result of the war or persecution. There are 200,000 living in the Federal Republic of Germany, 150,000 in Austria, 15,000 in the German Democratic Republic; 15,000 have gone abroad, many to the United States. Remaining in Yugoslavia are 10,000 to 20,000 ethnic Germans, more or less assimilated as ordinary citizens.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

THE GERMAN EXODUS: A SELECTIVE STUDY ON THE POST-WORLD WAR II EXPULSION OF GERMAN POPULATIONS AND ITS EFFECTS. By G. C. Paikert. [Publications of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, Number 12.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1962. Pp. x, 97. Glds. 8.50.) In his concise, well-organized monograph, G. C. Paikert surveys the causes, course, and consequences of the postwar flight of some fourteen million Germans from Eastern Europe. Concentrating on the majority which settled in the Federal Republic, where every fourth inhabitant is an expellee or refugee, he discusses their social and economic integra-

tion, their role in the "German Miracle," and their influence on West German foreign policy. Unequivocally condemning the expulsion "as being opposed to fundamental norms in law and morality," Paikert carefully evaluates the remote prospects for an eventual repatriation of the expellees and concludes that the ultimate settlement of the problem "cannot be treated as an exclusively German question. . . . It is and remains the concern of the entire civilized world." Although I disagree with Paikert on certain points, I nonetheless recommend *The German Exodus* as a lucid, impartial introduction not only to one of the more complex and controversial issues of postwar Central and Eastern European history, but also to an important and not infrequently underrated factor in contemporary German affairs.

Montgomery Junior College

DONALD S. DETWILER

ILLUMINISTI ITALIANI. Part 5, RIFORMATORI NAPOLETANI. Edited by *Franco Venturi*. [La letteratura italiana, storia e testi, Volume XLVI, Part 5.] (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. [1962.] Pp. xxi, 1279. L. 7,500.) This volume forms a part of what promises to be an impressive and imposing collection of scholarly works on Italian literature, the history of thought, philosophy, political science, and economics. Published under the general title of "La letteratura italiana, storia e testi," the collection, when completed, will comprise seven volumes of history, seventy-five volumes of texts, and an index volume. In the preparation of this volume, the second of the three that will deal with the reformers, Venturi has rendered a distinct service to scholars and students of Italian history. In addition to a scholarly introduction and a general bibliography to the entire volume, the editor has supplied an introduction to and a bibliography for each of the nine reformers. Extensive extracts from their major works were carefully selected and annotated. The nine were essentially political economists and philosophers of history. The material constituting the basis of their studies was drawn from the hard and bitter experiences of the Bourbon South, although their ideals stemmed from the most brilliant European minds. About one-fourth of the volume is devoted to Antonio Genovesi, the leader of the group, whose views, though largely European, adhered closely to the traditions of Italian culture (Vico). He is followed by the first group of his immediate disciples—Francesco Longano and Domenico Grimaldi—who continued the teachings of their master as applied to the particular conditions of Calabria and Molise. They are followed by two groups of disciples: the first group, constituted by the reformers (Galanti, Palmieri, and Delfico), was determined to break away from the Neapolitan anticlerical tradition by widening the polemic in a fight against legalism and administrative and financial reforms; the second (Francesco Grimaldi, Filangieri, and Mario Pagano) was more utopian but yet more fruitful of results, waging as it did a bitter but successful fight against all residues of feudalism while striving to apply the ideals of equality and of the modern state to the degraded kingdom of Naples. The first group realized a large part of its program during the rule of Murat; the second achieved its full development in the tragic and glorious Jacobinism of the revolution of 1799. Though the Enlightenment and the century of the Encyclopedists are usually associated with French history and culture, the spirit of that tragic period manifested itself also in Italy, which, though politically subject to foreign troops, began to show the first real signs of national unity. There is ample evidence in this volume to demonstrate that the eighteenth century in Italy was essentially one of new moral vigor. The eighteenth was not a century of decadence; it was, instead, a fervent and an inventive period, for it was then that the Italians became increasingly more conscious of their national spirit, and the idea of a *Risorgimento* took firm hold of their imagination.

Columbia University

HOWARD R. MARRARO

THE LION OF CAPRERA: A BIOGRAPHY OF GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI. By *John Parris*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1962. Pp. 352. \$5.00.) Covering the complete life of the Italian hero, this book, according to the publisher, is "the result of many years of research and study." It has, however, serious defects in composition and dubious claim as a contribution to knowledge. There is a certain sprightliness in the chapter headings and verve in the writing, but this is marred by numerous grammatical errors, including the repeated use of "try and" as the infinitive form. The author objects to a certain translation as not being good English, but on the next page we find: "would not allow Anita and he to cohabit. . . ." The author appears to have done considerable reading in the newer Italian literature on Garibaldi, but his grasp of Italian history seems weak, and his prejudices emerge much more clearly than his demonstrations of historical fact. He lavishes praise on his hero, but he is critical of Cavour, of Victor Emmanuel II, of Napoleon III, and of Pius IX. We are informed at one point that "the geniuses of war have always been quasiamateurs like Caesar and Cromwell," at another point that Mentana "was the first battle of a new kind of war," and at still another point that "non-theistic Christianity" is "the real religion of most adults in the Western world in the twentieth century." Reference is also made to "the decisive victories by the Prussians . . . at Sadowa and Königgratz." Throughout the narrative the author uses italics for what appear to be direct quotations. At the back of the book are notes arranged by chapter, but, alas, these are quite useless for there are scarcely any precise citations. To determine the sources of Parris' statements would involve far more labor than the task is worth.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

"LA STAMPA" DI TORINO E LA POLITICA INTERNA ITALIANA (1867-1903). By *Valerio Castronovo*. [Collezione storica del Risorgimento e dell'Unità d'Italia, Volume LVIII, Series 4.] (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese-Mucchi. [1962.] Pp. 275. L. 1,500.) In preparing this first work in a new series of projected studies to be included in the "Collezione storica del Risorgimento e dell'Unità d'Italia" under the general editorship of the historian Arturo Codignola, Valerio Castronovo made wise use of the rich documentary material in the archives of the newspaper *La Stampa*, the family archives of Vittorio Bersezio, the founder of the *Gazzetta Piemontese*, the Archivio di Stato, the Archivio Storico, the Biblioteca Civica, and the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin. In addition, he examined the files of thirty-four contemporary newspapers and many published sources. The volume represents a scholarly, valuable, and interesting study on the origin and development of two major newspapers of the period: the *Gazzetta Piemontese* and *La Stampa*. In its initial phase the *Gazzetta* (founded in February 1867) supported the Center of Italian Parliament, openly declared its opposition to Ricasoli's government, announced its determination to pursue a policy of "liberty and independence," and rejected every form of government interference in its editorial policy. Gradually shifting to the Left, the newspaper remained essentially regional in scope though by 1880 it had attained a circulation of close to 25,000 copies. Meanwhile, Luigi Roux, who had assumed the directorship of the paper, became involved in a bitter fight with Francesco Crispi, who, in turn, used all his power and influence to combat him both in the national Parliament, where he (Roux) had a seat, and in local Turinese political circles. The dispute had a damaging effect on the newspaper. To raise its fortunes and to add to its effectiveness, in 1893, Alfredo Frassati joined the editorial staff as vice-director. Finally, in February 1895, the editors announced the suspension of the *Gazzetta* and the publication, in its place, of *La Stampa*, which assumed a national scope. The editors made clear that the new daily no longer wanted to represent

the narrow and envied Piedmontese hegemony, which had irritated many Italians since the so-called Piedmontese "legend"; it intended to break away from the small and petty prejudices and biases that had undermined its growth. Castronovo's study ends with a chapter on "Criticism of the Traditional Liberal State" and the beginnings of the "spiritual association" between Frassati and Giolitti. Both the *Gazzetta Piemontese* and *La Stampa* played a significant role in the many domestic and international problems that confronted Italy during the thirty-six years covered by this study: Venetia, Mentana, the Law of Papal Guarantees, the Left, Depretis, *Transformismo*, the rise of the bourgeois class and its economic and social implications, the Triple Alliance, immigration, colonies, the Abyssinian venture, industrial development, European entanglements, consolidation of the Italian state, Crispi, Giolitti, and others. Castronovo's study discusses and interprets these problems as seen through the policies of both papers.

Columbia University

HOWARD R. MARRARO

IN MEMORIA DI WALTER MATURI. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Second Series, Memorie, Volume XIX.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1962. Pp. 157.) Less than a year after the death of Federico Chabod, Italy lost another of its leading historians—Professor Walter Maturi of the University of Turin. Not yet sixty years old when he died, Maturi was recognized as a leading authority on the *Risorgimento*. His scholarly activity and contributions are remembered with warmth and sadness in this commemorative collection of essays devoted to his work by a dozen of his colleagues. Originally published in the October–December 1961 issue of the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, they now appear as a separate volume. Together with Ernesto Sestan's article and the bibliography of Maturi's writings compiled by Narciso Nada, both of which appeared in the June 1961 issue of the *Rivista storica italiana*, they survey Maturi's work and illuminate some aspects of Italian historiography on the *Risorgimento*.

Regis College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

A HISTORY OF BULGARIA, 1393–1885. By Mercia Macdermott. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. 354. \$8.75.) The appearance of a new history of Bulgaria in a Western language is in itself a significant event. The last such study, Alois Hajek's *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft*, was published almost forty years ago. It is not only out of print but also in some respects obsolete. In recent years much new information has been made available through the extensive research and publication projects of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The *Istoriya na Bŭlgariya* published by the former and the *Istoriya Bolgarii* contributed by the latter are monumental syntheses. These works suffer, however, from extreme Marxist dogmatism and corollary distortions and are, of course, of no service to those unfamiliar with Slavic languages. Miss Macdermott's work is designed to remedy these shortcomings and provide a comprehensive and scholarly study on Bulgarian history during the era of Turkish rule. Unfortunately the author's intentions have not been fulfilled, primarily because of failure to evaluate her sources critically. As the book is essentially a summary of the two Marxist studies mentioned above, supplemented occasionally by materials derived from equally "tainted" works, the author should have been particularly careful in selecting only historically accurate data. In chapter after chapter, however, beginning with the basic consideration of Bulgarian developments before 1393, continuing through the important survey of economic and social changes before the nineteenth century, and culminating in the elaborate treatment of the struggle for religious and political independence, Miss Macdermott

repeatedly and indiscriminately summarizes the misconstructions of the prototypes on which *A History of Bulgaria* is based. This is particularly regrettable because the organization of her study is sound, and the factual information supplied to the reader, especially on the liberation movement, is both new and relevant. Had she been able to reinterpret the *Istoriya na Bŭlgariya*, *Istoriya Bolgarii*, and other works listed in the bibliography, a major contemporary contribution would have been made to the arid field of Balkan history.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

VISIONS BALKANIQUES DANS LA PRÉPARATION DE LA RÉVOLUTION GRECQUE (1789-1821). By *Notis Botzaris*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Number 38.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1962. Pp. viii, 280. 20 fr. S.) The Balkans are identified with rampant nationalism, as is indicated by the connotation of the verb "to Balkanize." Yet the fact remains that the earliest nationalist manifestations in the Balkans were frequently supranational in outlook, embracing the peninsula as a whole rather than individual nationalist aspirations. This was especially true of the pioneer Greek nationalists, though by no means exclusively so. Because of the advantages enjoyed by the Greeks in economic development, in cultural background, in educational opportunities, and in imperial administrative status, they took the lead in nationalist activities of both the narrow and broad varieties. Thus it is particularly welcome to have available this study of Balkan-wide projects associated with the Greek War of Independence. The numerous schemes for a Pan-Balkan uprising against Ottoman rule and for the establishment of a unitary or federated Balkan state eventually all came to naught. The dynamics of Balkan politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were unfavorable, especially the uneven rate of the awakening of the various nationalities. This, together with the extremely decentralized—indeed virtually anarchical—organization of the Ottoman Empire, created such a congeries of conflicting interests—regional, ideological, and personal—that united action never materialized on a significant scale. This study begins with an analysis of the historical forces operating for and against Balkan-wide action. Then it traces the various schemes and abortive enterprises, beginning with Rhigas' unique proposal for a united Balkan state that would include Moslem Turks as well as Balkan Christians. The survey includes proposals by foreign powers with obvious ulterior motives, by Balkan leaders associated in one way or another with the foreign powers, and by numerous secret societies which usually were as fertile with plans as they were sterile in action. Among the enterprises actually launched, the author analyzes the Souliote-Albanian affair, Greek aid to the Serbian revolution in 1804, and the Philike Hetairia and its relations with Ali Pasha, with Milosh Obrenovich, and with Theodore Vladimirescu. Finally, with the proclamation of Greek independence on January 15, 1822, the Greek revolutionary movement sloughed off its peninsular phase and became purely and exclusively national—a pattern that was to be repeated later by the other Balkan peoples. This volume is based almost exclusively on well-known published materials in Western and Greek, but not Slavic languages. It offers neither new data nor new interpretations. Nevertheless, it is a comprehensive and useful survey of a significant phase of Balkan history, and it is to be hoped that the author will further exploit the opportunities for original research suggested by this study.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

YUGOSLAVIA IN CRISIS, 1934-1941. By *J. B. Hoptner*. [East Central European Studies of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 328. \$6.50.) The Belgrade *coup d'état* of March 27, 1941, has, since the day it occurred,

been the subject of interest and debate, much of it polemical. The author of this first systematic treatise on the Yugoslav crisis of 1934-1941 observes that from 1936 on, and especially after the *Anschluss*, Yugoslavia realized that it must strike out independently and pursue a policy of neutrality in its foreign relations. Early in 1941 the Germans repeatedly failed to enlist Yugoslavia's support for their Greek venture, and Prime Minister Cvetković told Colonel William Donovan that any attempts by the Germans to enter Yugoslav territory by force would mean war. But the Yugoslav government ultimately yielded to German pressure and agreed to sign the Tripartite Pact. Two days later (March 27, 1941) a group of officers, who had the sympathy of some prominent civilians, staged a *coup d'état* and overthrew the government. The author apparently thinks that the adhesion to the pact was the best possible policy "in the adverse circumstances dictated by geography, the proximity of Yugoslavia's powerful enemies, and the disinclination of the Croats and of many Slovenes for conflict with Germany." Therefore he criticizes the Allied powers for coercing the Yugoslavs into the war and sees no reason why they did not "extend to Yugoslavia the patience and diplomatic restraint they showed to Sweden." Instead, Yugoslavia's "political fortunes were set in flux, starting a process that would be resolved years later with little credit to the political wisdom of the Western democracies." This is unquestionably a good work, well written and adequately documented, although, based excessively on diplomatic documents and interviews of dubious value. The author knows his subject and has a good analytical mind; many, however, will question his interpretations and conclusions. I feel that Hoptner is too soft on Prince Paul, too harsh on many other Serbian leaders, and too easy on the Croatian spokesmen. He suspects the motives of those who opposed the pact, but offers little if any supporting evidence and concludes with no explanation that the *coup d'état* was a mistake. Was it really such a setback? From a historical standpoint it might be argued that, as a result of the coup and events that followed, Yugoslavia emerged more powerful, with more territory and greater international prestige. Moreover, the nation today is more united than at any period before the war. The *coup d'état* regenerated the spirit of national dignity and independence even if the immediate results proved to be a terrible human and material sacrifice. It was no mere Communist machination that proved the Yugoslav idea stronger during the war than either Serbian or Croatian exclusiveness. Finally, in my opinion, the positions of Yugoslavia and Sweden were not analogous; it is doubtful that Yugoslavia could have maintained neutrality and internal unity during the war.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

MADAME DE KRÜDENER ET SON TEMPS, 1764-1824. By *Francis Ley*. Preface by *Alphonse Dupront*. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961. Pp. xvi, 646. 25.60 N. F.) In this excellent work belonging to the life-and-letters genre of historical composition, the story of Julie de Krüdener is told mainly through her journals, correspondence, and other writings and those of her family and her friends. All are laced together by a narrative and commentary written with great literary skill and psychological perception. The author-editor is a historian who also in his generation is the last descendant of the Baroness Krüdener, and roughly half the documents he presents here are hitherto unpublished materials from his family archives. They relate to all periods of her life. Among them is the charming and relatively perspicacious journal of her daughter Juliette, who was the constant companion of "Maman" during the decades of her mysticism and prophetic mission of which the Holy Alliance was one of the fruits. But notably they also include abundant sources, here reproduced, for the early and "worldly" part of Julie's life, down to about 1805, including her childhood as the daughter of a great Baltic nobleman, a subject of the tsar, her marriage to

another Baltic nobleman in the tsar's diplomatic service, her separation from him (the letters between them on this subject deserve immortality), her love affair with the Marquis de Frégevill, her friendships in the world of letters, especially the French world (for Julie was a Francophile), her desire for fame as a writer and as a personality, her constant wandering, which indeed became a lifetime habit. Almost half the volume is devoted to this period, since relatively little of the truth about it has hitherto been known. It is M. Ley's hope (the only *parti pris* in the book) that with his correction of the record especially in regard to her earlier life, the character of Julie de Krüdener may emerge as something less extravagant and more understandable than it has frequently been represented, and it must be said that his effort is very persuasive. His own attitude toward his subject is half sympathetic, half ironical. Since the personality of Madame de Krüdener herself is admittedly not to everybody's taste, let it be emphasized in conclusion that this volume also evokes an image of her times, that is, the society and the mores (not the politics), from which profit and pleasure may be derived.

Duke University

FRANCES ACOMB

THE EDUCATION OF A RUSSIAN STATESMAN: THE MEMOIRS OF NICHOLAS KARLOVICH GIERS. Edited by Charles and Barbara Jelavich. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 241. \$6.00.) For a number of reasons diplomatic history has been neglected by Russian historians. With the exception of a few monographic works the field remains barren. About two decades ago a three-volume history of diplomacy (*Istoriia diplomatii*) appeared under the editorship of V. P. Potyomkin. This work, however, covers world diplomacy with a goodly portion devoted to Russia. It is by no means a definitive work and leaves room for improvement. The editors of the present *Memoirs*, Charles and Barbara Jelavich, justly point out the need for biographies of such eminent diplomats as K. R. Nesselrode or A. M. Gorchakov, and it may be added of A. B. Lobanov-Rostovski, N. P. Ignatiev, P. Saburov, A. Izvolski, or S. D. Sazonov, to mention only a few of the leading diplomats of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In view of such a scarcity of historical accounts one may welcome even such meager material as the *Memoirs* of Giers. Regrettably, however, these *Memoirs* add little. Giers never finished his task nor did he leave whatever he did accomplish in any stylistic form suitable for publication. In their preface the editors admit that they were compelled to recast sentences, fill omissions, and take liberties in the translation of the manuscript into English. Giers served as Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1882 and 1895, while the *Memoirs* were written between 1873 and 1875 (when he held the post of minister to Sweden), which lessens their value. Aside from some biographical details there is little in the *Memoirs* that illuminates Russian diplomacy. The present volume renders one useful purpose: it reveals the unimaginative *chinovnik*, careerist bureaucrat of the reign of Alexander III despite his high office. The author is shown as a timid, cautious man who firmly believed in stability at home rather than a forceful foreign policy. In this respect it is interesting to compare Giers with his immediate successors who set out upon more adventurous courses which led to the fiasco in the Far East. The publication of these *Memoirs* represents a very modest initial step in the right direction. It might stimulate the editors to achieve a more extensive and thorough study in the field of Russian foreign policy.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

THE SIEGE OF LENINGRAD. By Leon Goure. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 363. \$6.95.) Goure's study is a somber and heavily documented account of a city's passage through an earthly purgatory. Two points stand out

from his grim examination of human suffering. First is the heroism of Leningrad's citizens. In the winter of 1941-1942 alone, over a million people, one-third of the city's population, died of starvation. They collapsed in the streets, fell at their benches in the factories, or silently passed away at home. The survivors, too weak to bury their dead, stacked them in frozen piles or left them hidden beneath drifting snows. Somehow, those who lived found strength to get to the factories and produce the materials of war. It is particularly remarkable that under the stress of bombardment and famine there were no public outbursts of violence, no general hysterical demands that food be procured at any cost, no pleas for capitulation to the Germans as a means of saving loved ones. Man's incredible courage in adversity is forever one of the stirring facts of history. The second point that must be emphasized is the great political significance of the siege. The important facts are that the party and the Soviet government held firm and were supported. Probably no one, least of all the Communists themselves, had believed their system could withstand such terrible pressures as the German encirclement created; nor had anyone anticipated the people's loyalty and disciplined obedience. Obviously the motives compelling the people of Leningrad to follow the party's lead were complex. They included patriotism, hatred of the Germans, fear of future Soviet punishment, the sheer desire to live, and perhaps inertia fed by hopelessness. Gourevitch's evidence, however, must be accepted: at Leningrad the Soviet political system held steady under the most trying conditions imaginable, and it enjoyed the people's support.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

NEAR EAST

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *H. B. Sharabi*. [Van Nostrand Political Science Series.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1962. Pp. xiii, 296. \$6.50.) This book has several advantages over some previous efforts to comprehend the political condition of the Near East in the 1950's. Writing from the vantage of 1960-1961, Sharabi has been able to see the culmination of trends that were still in the emergent stage a few years ago. In addition, he is well informed and a keen observer. His conceptual framework, nevertheless, is quite familiar. He believes that the political events of the 1950's mark the institution of "a new kind of twentieth-century collectivity, in which the aspirations and demands of the downtrodden masses, supplanting the traditional rights and privileges of the feudal aristocracy, constitute the valuational scheme of social, economic, and political action." Direct inference from the "valuational scheme" of an action to the social characteristics of that action is always risky. It is true that the current leaders talk of social reform and believe they speak for the masses, but so did their immediate predecessors, just as earlier Near Eastern leaders thought they represented the aspiration of the masses when they advocated constitutional and parliamentary government. History is not Sharabi's strong point. Neither the military coup nor "land reform" were unknown before the twentieth century. To understand contemporary political movements, the total context of the movement of ideas for the last century must be grasped. The author is incorrect when he states that Arab nationalism owes its Islamic character to the Hashimites and that the "impassioned" assertion of positive neutralism and of Arab-Islamic cultural self-sufficiency is the mark of the new generation. Both traits have deep roots in the past and merit much more attention than Sharabi gives them. In this connection, the author is confused regarding the Sunnite doctrine of the caliphate and the millet system. Finally, some of his statements on the Arab revolt are surprising. This is essentially a survey of the 1950's with little to dispute in

the author's subordinate conclusions and handling of detail. When he describes the realities of politics as personal power and military supremacy, he is on sound ground. His handling of events that excite emotion in many is fair and careful. The coverage is comprehensive, from the Indian Ocean principalities to Turkey and Iran, and there is more than is usual on peoples, constitutions, and administration. Despite my skepticism about the conceptual framework, I consider this to be a most useful and discerning survey.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

AFRICA

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA. By *J. Spencer Trimingham*. [Glasgow University Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Glasgow. 1962. Pp. viii, 262. \$4.80.) In his *Islam in West Africa*, Dr. Trimingham studied the interpenetration of Islam and West African society. In his new volume, *A History of Islam in West Africa*, he examines the spread of Islam in the same area. The size and variety of the territories and the length of the period involved make the task very complex. The author himself modestly claims only to have put together a jigsaw puzzle of which the patterns may have been distorted by the number of pieces missing. In fact his remarkable knowledge and his sound judgment are guarantees that we are not seriously misled. Criticism is more justifiable in regard to the author's method of writing. He adopts a chronological style of presentation, but anticipates events, thus assuming in the reader a knowledge that he may not possess. He writes, for example, "British, French, and Germans all converged on this district [of Nigeria] at the end of the century. When, after the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was established in 1900, the ruling *lamido*, Zubair, continued his slave-trading activities, an expedition was sent against Yola. Zubair was deposed, but his brother was installed in his place exercising jurisdiction over both British and German spheres of influence." Since this is the first mention in the book either of Germans, of a protectorate, or of Zubair and his slave-raiding activities, the reader may well wonder who established a protectorate, what the Germans were doing in the neighborhood, and who deposed Zubair and appointed his brother. The mass of detail presented and the frequent introduction of African words (which are not always explained) are evidence of the writer's own knowledge, but are difficult for the reader who is not a specialist. The general impression emerging from the narrative is that Islam was peacefully spread for many generations by Moslem traders without greatly affecting the religious beliefs and practices of the masses even when the superior civilization of the Moslems led to the nominal adoption of the religion by local rulers. Apart from such episodes as the conquest of the kingdom of Songhay by the Moroccans in the sixteenth century, which was a matter of imperial expansion, not a crusade, it was not until the nineteenth century and the campaigns of Uthman dan Fodio and Al-Hajj Umar that Islamization assumed characteristics of intolerance in West Africa. The author has perhaps a slight tendency to idealize Negro as opposed to Arab or European rule, but, as a whole, the work is a model of objectivity. It is a valuable contribution to a subject whose importance to Western readers today is as great as its unfamiliarity.

South Newington, Oxon, England

NEVILL BARBOUR

A HISTORY OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN MODERN EGYPT, 1800-1950. By *Gabriel Buer*. [Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 4. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 252. \$5.60.) The author has chosen to interpret his subject in its very narrowest

sense, the legal means by which land was possessed in Egypt. Within this limitation, he has contributed much useful material describing the process by which the relatively small Ottoman tax farms into which the lands of Egypt were divided in 1800 were gradually made into great private estates during the nineteenth century. His descriptions of the landholdings of the great "Turko-Egyptian" families, based primarily on Egyptian newspaper reports written when those holdings were seized by 'Abd ul-Nasser, and his analyses of the official government landholding statistics printed after 1896 are original and useful contributions. The work, however, goes little beyond this limited scope. There is almost nothing on the actual financial and administrative obligations of the landholders and their relations with government officials and peasants. Nor is there any information on the status of the cultivators themselves and the fate of their traditional hereditary rights to cultivate their plots. The work suffers considerably from the author's inability to consult the excellent land records available for Egypt in the archives of Cairo and Istanbul. His repeated statements that such records do not exist are patently untrue for Egypt more than any other Arab country. The work is further limited by Baer's apparent unfamiliarity with the technical meanings of many of the Ottoman administrative terms, to which he gives their more common literary meanings. For example, *Ḥaqq Tariq*, which he defines as "the right to collect a fee from somebody of whom somebody else has complained to the *multezim*" was in fact the fee that officials and their agents were allowed to collect from villagers, cultivators, and others through whose lands they passed on official business. In the early part of the book where landholding before 1800 is briefly reviewed, are a number of errors of fact. He states, for instance, that the *māl-i ḥimāye* (protection tax) levied on *rizaq* rent holders in 1801 was then "levied on it for the first time," whereas in fact this tax existed for over a century and a half before. More detailed use of the *Description de l'Égypte* and other works on Egypt before 1800 might have enabled Baer to avoid these errors in what is, in other ways, quite an original and useful work.

Harvard University

STANFORD SHAW

THE SOUTHERN SUDAN, 1883-1898: A STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL. By Robert O. Collins. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 76.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 212. \$6.00.) Collins' book on the southern Sudan is limited to fifteen years of Mahdist control of Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria. The novelty of his approach is his presenting the story solely against the background of the Arabic and Islamic world. For this reason alone the book is of value to the historian of Africa and the Near East. He has used primarily Arabian sources which he found in the government archives in Khartoum. After a brief account of the prevailing conditions in the Sudan in the nineteenth century, the author describes the rise of Mohammed Ahmed up to 1881 when he informed his adherents that he was the Mahdi. The son of a boatbuilder and early interested in religious affairs, Mohammed Ahmed had joined the puritan order of Sāmāniya tariqa. His campaign for Mahdist control of Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria was surprisingly successful. He was supported by the common people, religious reformers, slave traders who loathed the government, and Negroid tribes sympathetic toward the Arabs of the North, but opposed to the Egyptians. This motley group of followers remained an important characteristic throughout Mahdist rule in the southern Sudan. Intertribal warfare, dissatisfaction with the extortionist practices of officials, and truly religious zeal motivated those who helped to maintain the Mahdi. The nemesis of Mahdist control of the southern Sudan was precipitated by international events in the 1890's, while the European climax in the Sudan came after the defeat of the Mahdists in 1898. Collins

describes the impact of the Mahdi on Leopold II's maneuvers to control the sources of the Nile and relates Mahdist rule to the European "scramble" for Africa. He does not intend to reinterpret British and French policy in Egypt, but he produces corroborating evidence that may well be used to supplement other recent sources in the field. The policy toward the Sudan adopted by the Foreign Office between 1895 and 1898 as described by Robinson and Gallagher in *Africa and the Victorians* does not contradict the picture emerging from Collins' book. Although primarily concerned with the Sudan in its Arabic and Islamic setting, the author has contributed to the documentation of colonial history in Central Africa. It would have been helpful if he had enlivened his minutely detailed story by interpretive paragraphs throughout the book instead of saving his conclusions for the last five pages. There are six appendixes containing translations of Arabian documents and a bibliography that is particularly strong on manuscript material.

University of Hartford

ANN BECK

THE WESTERN SLAVE COAST AND ITS RULERS: EUROPEAN TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION AMONG THE YORUBA AND ADJA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA, SOUTHERN DAHOMEY, AND TOGO. By C. W. Newbury. [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 234. \$4.80.) This is a welcome companion volume to K. O. Dike's *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885* (1956). It is a useful study of the Yoruba- and Adja-speaking peoples of southwestern Nigeria, southern Dahomey, and Togo, both before and after they came under British, French, and German rule. The use of ethnic rather than colonial boundaries for the study gives the reader a number of helpful comparisons and perspectives. After an introductory chapter on the origins and traditions of the area's population, two chapters deal with the rise and fall of the slave trade in Abomey, Whydah, and other West African centers. The rise of "legitimate" trade in palm oil and other products is then briefly described, while several chapters are devoted to European intervention and the establishment of Lagos colony and the western district, and the Togo, Fon, and Yoruba protectorates. Since traders followed the best markets rather than the flag, the early literate Africans in different coastal towns "were not rigidly divided into German, French, or English-speakers." The German treaty of 1884 in Togo was drawn up in English with the assistance of two native traders, a French missionary ran the earliest farm school and plantation in Lagos colony, and Portuguese was long the language of business and diplomacy in Dahomey. The evolution of three colonial entities under the differing systems of the British, French, and Germans took about two decades after 1890, which are described in a chapter on "Trade, Agriculture, and Colonial Finance." In a final chapter, on "The Search for Formulas," Newbury describes the ways in which the three powers attempted to solve the fundamental administrative problem of the relationship between indigenous authorities and the centers of colonial government. He seems reluctant to generalize about the merits of direct or indirect rule, but in his final two pages, he does imply a preference for Lugard's system if only on pragmatic grounds. In Newbury's view, French Governor-General Ponty's *politique des races*, which was designed to break up great chiefdoms and bring administrators into more direct contact with their people, was impractical because of the shortage of French administrative personnel. He concludes, moreover, by quoting a French administrator in Dahomey in 1918 who wrote that the chiefs appointed by the French "are chiefs for the whites and have only one function—to receive instructions from both sides." The "true chief" in each village is "rarely known by us." The author has made extensive use of German, French, and

English primary sources, although he has not ferreted out the kind of African sources uncovered by Dike in the papers of Niger delta families and in the oral traditions of Nigerians.

*School of Advanced International Studies,
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VERNON MCKAY

ASIA AND THE EAST

A SHORT HISTORY OF TIBET. By *H. E. Richardson*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1962. Pp. viii, 308. \$5.95.) In one of its aspects, this "short history" is a compact, reliable handbook that answers many of the primary questions about Tibet. Is the Dalai Lama hierarchical system very ancient? No, it is rather modern (sixteenth century), and it arose less from within Tibet than out of the adjustment of Tibetan affairs to suit, first, a succession of Mongol overlords, and then the Manchu emperors of whom the Chinese Republic, after 1911, was the weakling heir. Is the discovery and confirmation of an infant Dalai Lama a purely spiritual exercise? No, there is always a lot of politics in it. Does the office of Dalai Lama have more temporal power, that of Panchen Lama more spiritual authority? Yes and no. If the Dalai happens to be an infant and the Panchen an adult, or the Panchen an infant and the Dalai an adult, the senior has a priestly kind of ascendancy over the junior. In another aspect of his book Sir Hugh Richardson is an advocate, pleading the case that by history and by law Tibet is a country quite separate and different from China. There is much in this case, but in making it the author stands now on one side, now on the other, of a line which he himself authoritatively draws: Western ideas of "sovereignty" and "suzerainty" do not really fit a situation in which one figure is (or was) a patron-emperor and the other the high priest of a church which, while patronized, is not the official, exclusive church of the state ruled by the emperor-patron; and the past ought not to be rewritten in order to adjust it to modern terminology. But having drawn this important and valid line, Richardson argues all issues as if modern notions could in fact be applied to Tibet's past. By doing so, he minimizes the extent to which British policy inculcated in Tibet (especially during the reign of the autocratic thirteenth Dalai Lama) the idea of a "Western" kind of independence or autonomy which had not previously existed there. The fact is that, until British rule over India reached its peak, the main guide to politics in Tibet was to make the best of what was dictated by the power or permitted by the weakness of China. In all its long history the one thing that Tibet had never been was a buffer state until the Curzon-Young-husband expedition to Lhasa in 1904. When Britain handed over to an Indian government which was conscious of the importance of China, but did not believe in using Tibetan autonomy as an instrument of its China policy, the Tibetans were nonplused. For nearly half a century they had been supported (instead of being conquered) by a strong British imperialism. In the same period, China was weaker than it had been for several centuries. Then, suddenly, the Tibetans found themselves between a very strong China and a completely nonimperialist, ideologically pacifist India. For this they were totally unprepared. That has been their tragedy—and a grim one it is.

Ruxton, Maryland

OWEN LATTIMORE

ON THE MARGINS OF THE GOOD EARTH: THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN WHEAT FRONTIER, 1869-1884. By *D. W. Meinig*. [Monograph Series of the Association of American Geographers, Number 2.] (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company for the Association. 1962. Pp. 231. \$5.00.) This study should appeal to a wider audience than the students of land utilization and of Australian history to whom it is primarily

directed. Its American author contrasts the more active role assumed by the Australian colonial government in directing land settlement, surveying townsites, and constructing railroads with that followed in the western United States. He notes how this paternalism entailed a greater acceptance of responsibility by the government to injured settlers when projects went awry. The trial-and-error method by which the South Australians established the division between wheat and grazing land is clearly outlined. Although these pioneers studied the techniques being employed on the then booming California wheat fields, it was to local ingenuity that they owed the inventions which made their province the cradle of the Australian mainland's wheat industry. Meinig duly emphasizes the importance of the stump-jump plough, the mallee roller, and John Ridley's stripper, but he relegates one major accomplishment, the development of a drought resistant wheat strain, to a footnote. The work is based on a study of parliamentary papers and the files of country newspapers, supplemented by field trips. It is well illustrated with maps and photographs, but the narrative lacks those intimate touches that might have been gleaned from private papers.

University of Waterloo

K. A. MacKIRDY

THE INCOME OF THE CHINESE GENTRY. By *Chung-Li Chang*. Introduction by *Franz Michael*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia, sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1962. Pp. xvii, 369. \$7.75.) Within the last decade three works on the Chinese gentry have appeared: Fei Hsiao-Tung and Chow Yung-teh, *China's Gentry* (1953), and Chang Chung-Li, *The Chinese Gentry* (1955) and *The Income of the Chinese Gentry* (1958). The last, now under review, is a sequel to the author's first volume. Chang has waded through an enormous mass of materials. He knows that in his analyses he is dealing with a non-Western and nonmodern society (therefore, "some terms and concepts have occasionally to be modified"), and he is sometimes cautious in his assertions. The author divides his work into two parts: "Income from Public Services and Teaching" and "Income from Landownership and Mercantile Activities." These parts are supported by six appendixes, which are based upon gazetteer biographies, and by two supplements dealing with gentry income in relation to national product. Readers are warned that figures regarding income are "tentative" and "rough estimates." Chang estimates the gentry's annual income of the late nineteenth century from official positions at 121,000,000 taels; "the combined total" of 6,000,000 taels for "regular," and 121,000,000 taels for "extra" income; gentry services such as arbitration, clan, or local public works projects, local defense, social welfare, educational enterprises, compilation of local histories, at 111,000,000 taels; teaching, 61,575,000 taels; stipends for gentry students and fees for gentry physicians, 9,000,000 taels; landownership, 172,500,000 taels; mercantile activities, 113,600,000 taels. The weakness of this work lies in its considering certain unusual cases as customary, passing over the divergent incomes of manual and mental labor, using Western sources uncritically, arbitrarily naming only degree holders as gentry, and combining normal and abnormal periods of social and economic history in traditional and transitional China. In his figures and tables of national product, of the per capita product, of the gentry's share in the national product, and even of the unit price, he fails to show clearly the standard and the cost of living of either the masses or of the gentry.

University of California, Los Angeles

YU-SHAN HAN

TILAK AND GOKHALE: REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA. By *Stanley A. Wolpert*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 370. \$7.50.) This book is a piece of solid scholarship

that all students of Indian history will welcome. Among the great makers of modern India, the two names Tilak and Gokhale go together. Gokhale, the "political guru" of Gandhi, and Tilak, "the father of Indian unrest," were contemporary Maratha Brahmins, but their paths to freedom sharply differed. The author's primary concern has been "their differing responses to the historical environment they imbibed." Their story involves the history of a struggling nation. This makes the problem of selection and compression difficult. Mr. Wolpert has faced it admirably. Gokhale was a moderate; Tilak, an extremist. Gokhale believed in petitions and social and constitutional reforms. His eloquence made marked inroads into British official opinion, and his own memorandum to Lord Morley provided the basis for the Morley-Minto Reforms. But his approval of a separate electorate was, as Wolpert points out, "probably the greatest blunder of his political career." Tilak, on the other hand, was "a born journalist and political battler." He wanted independence first, social reform afterward. "His tactics were to agitate and to organize among the masses, . . . to depict the scapegoat foreigner as the single simple cause of their multiple miseries. . . . He rallied his forces by devious means." The masses were an untapped source of political power. His resort to the Shivaji festivals was evidently for awakening millions "who otherwise took no note of public affairs." He found in the age of consent bill, Bengal's partition, the boycott, and Swadeshi movements bases for furthering his cause. Not all readers will, however, accept without reservation some of the author's views on Tilak's methods. While he stresses that Tilak "stimulated the revival of Hindu religious consciousness" and "militant regionalism," he does not properly emphasize Tilak's changing attitudes in the different phases of his career. Tilak played a significant part in uniting Hindus and Moslems through the Lucknow Pact and also tried to make the Montford Reforms work under the slogan of "responsive coöperation." The author once contends that Tilak's aim was "to restore Hindusthan to Hindu rule, that is reëstablish svarajya," but elsewhere he endorses the popular view of Tilak's demand that "the birthright of every Indian was the glory of svarajya." Such minor inaccuracies as "Miss Naidu" and "the Deshbandhu (nation unifier)" require correction. All available sources, in English and Marathi, have been carefully examined to present this fascinating "comparative biographical analysis."

Lady Brabourne College

N. MAJUMDAR

BATAAN: THE MARCH OF DEATH. By *Stanley L. Falk*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1962. Pp. 256. \$3.95.) This excellent short volume—perhaps unfortunately tagged as what seems to be one of a series on "True Adventures in War"—is a by-product of the United States Army's official history series. It is not an official account, but a Georgetown University dissertation prepared from a very wide range of American and Japanese documents, interviews, and the testimony at the war crimes trial of Lieutenant General Masaharu Homma. Since part-time graduate work by government employees is becoming increasingly common, it is good to report that this particular product is a model of careful research, clean prose, and analysis. About 600 of the 10,500 Americans who began the march died before they reached Camp O'Donnell. From 5,000 to 10,000 of the 62,000 Filipinos died. More than 1,600 Americans and at least ten times as many Filipinos died during their first six or seven weeks in camp. The death march "was not deviously and maliciously planned, [but] . . . the result of . . . the incredibly low physical state to which the Bataan defenders had sunk, . . . Japanese unpreparedness to receive so many prisoners in such a weakened condition, their inability [after a long campaign] to do much to improve this condition, . . . the cruelty and callousness of the individual Japanese soldier, . . . and, perhaps . . . most important, . . . the failure of Japanese leadership." Homma admitted

his "technical" moral responsibility, but seems to have known little of what was going on. An officer with much experience in England and India, he was probably suspected by his subordinates and superiors of "softness." Falk does not make the connection, but Homma's personal responsibility was strikingly like that of General Yamashita.

US Naval War College

THEODORE ROPP

AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMACY AND JAPAN, 1945-1951. By R. N. Rosecrance. (Parkville: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 288. \$8.50.) Australia in 1945 advocated an unqualified policy of military and economic suppression for Japan. Six years later the men of Canberra consented to the American treaty with Japan, along with the ANZUS Pact, as part of a package deal. This *volte-face* came about gradually. After 1945 Australian-American relations deteriorated. The United States ignored Australian plans to prosecute Emperor Hirohito for war crimes and failed to support the initial Australian demands for 28 per cent of whatever reparations Japan paid. Australia resented the revival of Japanese fishing and whaling operations and alleged American favoritism toward Japan in relief food distribution and US clumsiness in negotiating the Manus Island question. Finally, Australians of all parties shared an emotional abhorrence of Japanese rearmament. The cold war convinced some Australians that Soviet Russia was a potential enemy, but few accepted the American corollary that Japan must become a "forward area" ally. Yet Australia felt an overriding need for a pact with the United States. The author notes that Chifley and Evatt (Labour) removed Professor W. Macmahon Ball from the Allied Council in Tokyo as a step to improve relations with the United States. The Korean War helped revive wartime comradeship, but the Menzies (Liberal) government agreed to the peace treaty and to Japanese rearmament only after the ANZUS Pact was assured. Why did Australia accept this *quid pro quo*? Because Japan was less nationalistic and less effective economically, because of Communist threats in the "Near North," because Australia needed to adjust to the newly free Asian nations. The author pays little attention to the impact of Britain's decline on these developments, the role of public opinion in Australia, the influence of personalities and ideas, or to the political life and attitudes of pretreaty Japan. This is a competent but rather colorless study.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

AMERICAS

LOST TRIBES AND SUNKEN CONTINENTS: MYTH AND METHOD IN THE STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIANS. By Robert Wauchope. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. x, 155. \$3.95.) For 470 years since Columbus misnamed them Indians the problem of the origin of the native peoples of the New World has intrigued civilized man. Numerous romantic theories have been offered purportedly to prove American Indian descent from Phoenicians, or the ancient Egyptians, or the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, or from other Old World peoples. Some say the Indians are descendants of inhabitants of misty continents of Atlantis or Mu which allegedly sank beneath the sea thousands of years ago. Proponents of these imaginative theories have one attitude in common. All are opposed vigorously to the empirical methods of anthropologists, whom they regard as hopelessly conservative dogmatists when they insist that America was peopled "in a series of invasion waves via Bering Strait and Alaska over the twenty-five thousand or so years since the middle and closing stages of the Ice Age." Wearied of the anthropologist's endless controversy with these "wild theorists," Robert Wauchope, director of the Middle American Research Institute and

professor of anthropology at Tulane University, tersely and devastatingly appraises the most commonly held of these theories and the "contributions" of their leading proponents over the years. He reveals some of these advocates as out-and-out charlatans, others as ignorant persons, and still others as competent scholars in other fields whose critical judgments became distorted when they dabbled in anthropology. Superficial or fancied similarities in culture traits (such as pyramidal structures and art motifs), or in languages (selected words) induced many theorists to proclaim historical connections between Old and New World peoples. Religious revelations have perpetuated theories of the Israelite origin of the American Indians. Mystics have clothed the Mu and Atlantis theories in a confused, poetic jargon that defies logical analysis. This book will not convert those who are already committed to religious revelations or mystical teachings as infallible explanations of Indian origins. It should help the student who is confused by the multiplicity of theories of Indian origins he finds in print. Unfortunately, the author is stronger on attack than he is on defense. Without slackening the pace or detracting from the praiseworthy readability of his book, he could have offered a better-rounded summary of the findings in geology, in physical anthropology, and in his own field of archaeology, which underlie the anthropologist's position on the origin and antiquity of man in America. His bibliography of anthropological references is much too limited.

Smithsonian Institution

JOHN C. EWERS

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. THE UNITED STATES TO 1865, by *Michael Kraus*; THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865, by *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 529, xi; ix, 546, xix. \$15.00 the set.) In announcing its world histories of which these two volumes are a part, the University of Michigan Press stated the purpose: "a . . . series offering to the public at large an interconnected view of the histories of the great modern powers." For the reading public, then, Professors Kraus and Dulles tell the story of the United States from its beginning through expansion to present status. Kraus, in choice phrases, places emphasis on the differences between institutions developing in America and English institutions, on growing nationalism, and on the faith in democracy. Outstanding is his portrait of Washington as a man whose qualities would have made him welcome in any time of crisis. Dulles arranges his material so that various facets of American life are described in turn in a full sweep of several decades. This topical approach strains the reader less than the chronological development often followed. The chapters on the American pattern of life and intellectual development and on foreign affairs, though necessarily compressed, are good reading. The conclusion is hasty; it would have been better if the author could have concluded with the election of 1960. Both volumes suffer from taking seven-league-boot verbal strides. Sometimes they must of necessity omit dates, details, or clarifications; sometimes they make flat, unsupported value judgments. The thumbnail sketches of the Presidents are exceedingly good, especially those of Dulles. His opinions are not always mine, but he breathes life into the men who trod the lonely halls of the White House. In no way have the authors sacrificed style for brevity. These are not dull strings of unembellished facts; in many instances, the prose is not only good but exciting and dramatic. There should be more maps. Each volume has helpful sketch maps, but nothing takes the place of scale maps with latitude and longitude clearly marked. Numerous excellent quotations from the sources—some of them rather out-of-the-way sources—enliven the pages. The index is not as complete as it should be in the general categories. The lists of suggested readings are, indeed, thought provoking. Though the editors did not intend the

Michigan series to become primarily texts, I feel the authors have succeeded in giving us two highly stimulating volumes easily adapted to teaching purposes. Despite many previous interpretations of the theme, one is brought to a new appreciation of the American epic.

American University

DOROTHY D. GONDOS

AMERICA'S TEN GREATEST PRESIDENTS. Edited by *Morton Borden*. [Rand McNally History Series.] (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1961. Pp. 269. Cloth \$3.75, paper \$2.00.) For more than a century, rating the Presidents has been a favorite American pastime, attractive not only to armchair theorists, politicians, and pollsters, but to historians as well. This carefully edited volume continues the tradition with ten individual, interpretive essays by specialists. The editor chose the ten Presidents here represented in accordance with the results of the famous poll of Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. Since no effort is made to rank the chief executives, few will quarrel with the selection of Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, Cleveland, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts. Professor Borden has sought to provide a theme for his contributors by posing the question: "Why do historians consider these men great?" As might be expected, the essays vary in their approach to this problem. Some authors lean toward biographical summaries; others devote themselves more exclusively to analysis. Some stress the obvious; others contribute interesting insights. Outstanding in analytical grasp and in synthesis are the essays by J. A. Carroll on Washington, W. N. Chambers on Jackson, and R. N. Current on Lincoln. Certain to arouse controversies among students is Borden's piece on Jefferson, and Cronon's fine discussion of Wilson. Interesting brief surveys of presidential administrations are supplied by Kurtz on John Adams, Graebner on Polk, De Santis on Cleveland, Lowitt on Theodore Roosevelt, and Murphy on Franklin Roosevelt. All of the contributors have produced well-written essays characterized by literary grace. Perhaps the editor could have strengthened the analytical framework of the volume if he had provided a final essay drawing together the scattered conclusions of his authors. Without such synthesis, the reader himself must seek for any common traits shared by America's ten greatest Presidents. Not intended primarily as a scholarly contribution, this work was prepared mainly for classroom use. As a book of supplementary readings it is of superior quality and is likely to find a welcome niche in college reading rooms throughout the nation.

University of New Mexico

GERALD D. NASH

THE RECORDS OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON 1630-1868. In three volumes. Edited by *Richard D. Pierce*. [Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volumes XXXIX-XLI.] (Boston: the Society. 1961. Pp. lvi, 344; 345-758; 759-1255.) Publication of these *Records* by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts makes readily available for the first time the official life of this famous church. Perusal of the volumes reminds one again that the actors in an event may attach nowhere near the significance to it that future generations do (the almost casual references to Anne Hutchison and to the Cambridge Synod). One is also reminded that records are usually written by someone who assumes that readers will know the context of the action taken and be able to read between the lines. And finally one is reminded that sometimes the official record may apparently be written as much to obscure as to make clear what happened and why (the brief references to the split in the church that reverberated through the colony, occasioned by the calling of the seventy-year-old Reverend John Davenport from New Haven in 1667). It is such considerations that make copious explanatory and cross-reference footnotes necessary. In this the editor has done an ex-

cellent job, as he has in maintaining throughout a high level of accuracy. The editor's historical introduction is more an abbreviated history of the church than an introduction to the *Records*. Because it does not draw heavily upon the *Records*, or, except in a few instances, cite them when describing what happened, it is often difficult to trace the event in the *Records*. Included are an extensive and carefully compiled index of names (154 pages) and a much less extensive general index (11 pages), perhaps implying that people are more important than events.

Southern California School of Theology

SIDNEY E. MEAD

"OUT OF SMALLE BEGININGS . . .": AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE PURITAN PERIOD (1636 TO 1712). By *Margery Somers Foster*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 243. \$6.25.) The thirty-eight tables and eight figures in this volume constitute an ingenious financial report of seventeenth-century Harvard College, built upon materials from the College Archives and the printed public documents of Massachusetts Bay. In the text the author provides an astonishingly detailed account of income, disbursements, and assets at Harvard until the close of Treasurer Thomas Brattle's term in 1712. Properly, she neither claims exactitude for all the calculations nor generalizes at this distance upon the over-all effectiveness of Harvard's fiscal management when, certainly, the institution's first aim was, then as now, education, not balanced accounts. Her statistical conclusions are convincingly reached, and the findings are interesting. For example: "annual giving," cherished among modern alumni fund raisers, began over three hundred years ago at Harvard, with the majority of individual gifts to Harvard coming from New Englanders who were not college men; governmental aid was a major source of income; from 1693 to 1712, 57.4 per cent of Harvard's total receipts, including capital, came from students; after 1654 money for buildings and presidential salaries came from the General Court; resident fellows were the recipients of tuition money (much less than the cost of board) and the Charlestown ferry rent; food and housing were self-supporting; scholarships were endowed. The book's most original contribution is the "historic multiplier" through which we can determine relative real values of the resident fellows' salaries. Between 1693 and 1712 a faculty salary scale evolved. At a time when tuition was cheap, and food, books, and shoes were expensive, a fellow without a family, if he did not purchase books, could clearly make ends meet. In all, despite an unnecessary roll call of Harvard administrators in the first and final chapters and my view that this is financial and monetary history rather than broad "economic" history, here is a precise and valuable addition to Samuel Eliot Morison's classic studies and to Albert Matthews' edition of the Harvard College Records. It invites new inquiries into the financial history of higher learning, and it well serves those who want to know more about money, investments, corporations, or British philanthropy in the seventeenth century.

Johns Hopkins University

WILSON SMITH

PURITAN PROTAGONIST: PRESIDENT THOMAS CLAP OF YALE COLLEGE. By *Louis Leonard Tucker*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1962. Pp. xv, 283. \$6.00.) Thomas Clap transformed a collegiate school into Yale College in the middle of the eighteenth century. He was at the same time a devotee of Newtonian science and of an orthodox Puritanism, infusing the curriculum of the institution with both. For a quarter of a century he ruled despotically and at the same time gave himself unstintingly to the furthering of the interests of the college. In a dramatic battle against powerful adversaries he fought off the threat of interference by the Connecticut legislature in the

affairs of the college and, three years later, was forced to resign by a rebellious student body. Tucker's biography develops fully the varied aspects of the thought and career of this complex and controversial scientist, ecclesiastic, and educator. The research is thorough, and the treatment of Clap is clear, judicious, and fair. The author sets the Yale president against the background of the society and times in which he lived and presents Clap rightly as an important figure in the civilization of eighteenth-century America. The volume is a notable addition to the studies already published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.

American University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

THE STATE UNIVERSITIES AND DEMOCRACY. By *Allan Nevins*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 171. \$2.95.) Although a number of state universities already existed in 1862, the signing of the Land-Grant Act in that year was a portentous event in the history of American higher education. By 1962 it had led to the development of 68 colleges and universities, ranging in enrollment from 544 to 43,478, in all 50 states of the Union, and in Puerto Rico. During 1962 much has been said and written to celebrate the centennial of the Morrill Act. *State Universities and Democracy* is one of the more distinguished of these commentaries. Originally given as lectures at the University of Illinois, Allan Nevins' brief book examines "four stages in the development of the state and land-grant institutions, with special attention to their services to democracy." Despite the author's disclaimer that his approach is "of necessity impressionistic and incomplete," his treatment evidences painstaking scholarship and the assemblage of widely scattered source materials. Thoughtful interpretation and analysis, moreover, give added significance to the kinds of events that leading historians have seldom bothered even to chronicle. The first of four chapters places the ideas of the founders in their larger social setting. In light of the currently growing protest against emphasizing science and vocationalism at the expense of humanistic studies, it is interesting to note that the land-grant institutions were created in part to offset an opposite condition. Their subsequent success as instrumentalities of a democratic society may be judged by the important roles they now have on the American educational scene. The contemporary eminence of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Cornell, California, and other land-grant universities, however, obscures their humble beginnings and the struggles they have undergone. Nevins details many of these in his forthright section entitled "Don Quixote and Sancho Panza." Citing Lord Bryce's observation that the universities of Germany were popular but not free, and those of England free but not popular, the author shows in his third chapter how the American state universities became both popular and free. "Poised for a New Century" is the caption of the final chapter. It describes basic issues confronting all higher education and concludes that our state universities and land-grant institutions have the viability needed to cope with them.

American Council on Education

LOGAN WILSON

THE FIGHTING ELDER: ANDREW PICKENS (1739-1817). By *Alice Noble Waring*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 252. \$6.00.) As a number of recent studies have demonstrated, the careers of revolutionary generals of the second and third rank have much to teach us about the nature of the American War for Independence. In works like Billias' *General John Glover* and Higginbotham's *Daniel Morgan*, for example, one gains fresh insights into the elusive and evaporative qualities of the patriot forces, qualities that caused one British officer to exclaim in exasperation: "trying to pin down the Americans was like trying to nail currant jelly to the wall." Glover's Marblehead fishermen helped turn the tide of victory by ferrying

Washington's troops across the East River and the Delaware in 1776, and Morgan's riflemen, with their notorious accuracy from concealed positions, became an important psychological factor in the war. The career of Andrew Pickens, the "fighting elder" of this study, could be similarly illuminating. A farmer and justice of the peace when the war began, Pickens became, with Sumter and Marion, one of the great partisan commanders of the revolutionary contest in the South. He defeated a loyalist brigade at Kettle Creek in 1779, took part in the victories at Cowpens and Augusta, and for a time in 1781 led a guerrilla band which helped prevent the British from overrunning the Carolinas, taking its pay in Negroes and plunder wrested from the loyalists. After the war he served as a member of the South Carolina legislature, a negotiator with southern Indian tribes, and for one term as a member of Congress—altogether a significant and rewarding career. Unfortunately, however, the biographer has proved unequal to her subject. It is not simply that she has attempted "a report of Pickens' activities rather than an interpretation of the man," for that alone would be a contribution. But Mrs. Waring has written in a filiopietistic spirit, and without first mastering the rudiments of composition. Her narrative reads at times like a cross between a freshman theme and an address to the Daughters of the American Revolution. Yet it would be inaccurate to say that the work is altogether without value. It rests, in fact, upon extensive research in a variety of manuscripts and provides a fuller account of Pickens' career than the earlier works of A. L. Pickens, *The Wizard Owl of the Southern Highlands* (1933) and *Skyagunsta* (1934). It is only that Andrew Pickens deserves better.

University of California, Los Angeles

KEITH B. BERWICK

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, MARCH 28, 1749–MARCH 19, 1750. Edited by J. H. Easterby. Ruth S. Green, Assistant Editor. [The Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1962. Pp. xv, 549. \$12.50.) This ninth volume of the first series was planned by Dr. Easterby, and the text was in print before his death. The assistant editor completed the annotations and saw the volume through the press. It contains the journals of the first five sessions of the Commons House of Assembly which was elected in March 1749. Like the preceding journals, these deal with the varied problems of the colony and reflect its life: taxes imposed on importation of slaves, the proceeds to encourage immigration of "Foreign Protestants" (with a limitation on "Poor Protestants") to the colony; encouragement of the production of indigo, silk, and potash and the erection of sawmills; prevention of frauds in sale of rice, shingles, naval stores, beef and pork (in order to maintain standards in foreign markets); issuance of paper money; regulation of ferries and punch houses; establishment of beacons to aid navigation and the digging of drainage ditches; control of slaves and the regulation of patrols; dealings with the Indians, including the distribution of presents supplied by the crown; defense of the colony and of Georgia and the expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. These publications are making available the rich resources of South Carolina history, so long unavailable to most historians, and they will greatly aid the writing of the history of that time.

Richmond, Virginia

DAVID J. MAYS

QUARTERMASTER SUPPORT OF THE ARMY: A HISTORY OF THE CORPS, 1775–1939. By Erna Risch. (Washington, D. C.: Quartermaster Historian's Office, Office of the Quartermaster General; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1962. Pp. xvii, 796. \$5.50.) American military history would be much enriched if military historians, hitherto often neglectful of supply problems, would use and

build further upon this invaluable book. Through most of the period included, the Quartermaster Corps and its predecessors transported the army, built its quarters, clothed it, and provided it with nearly all other supplies except food and ordnance. Because the book surveys the history of both the Quartermaster Corps and the Subsistence Department which it absorbed in 1912, there is a nearly complete introduction to the history of the supply of the army before World War II. Nearly a third of the volume concerns the long tenures of the two great nineteenth-century quartermaster generals, Thomas S. Jesup and M. C. Meigs. Dr. Risch rightly calls Jesup the father of the department. Jesup shaped the permanent bureau, and Dr. Risch handles especially well his establishment of the procedures that it followed for decades thereafter. The account of the Quartermaster's Department during Meigs's tenure in the Civil War is excellent and the most inclusive available. The habitual American unreadiness for war has always extended to the Quartermaster Corps, which not only forgot its experience, but regularly has been starved by Congress in peacetime. Dr. Risch's verdict on mobilizations, nevertheless, is that the Quartermaster Corps has generally performed well. In the Mexican War Jesup's department met its distant responsibilities with skill that contrasts markedly with the European performances in the Crimean War; in the Civil War Dr. Risch finds the usual early evidences of corruption, waste, and delays, but she believes the achievements far outweigh them. Her account of the Spanish-American War emphasizes that the famous fiascoes were short lived, soon giving way to an effective supply system for the Philippine campaign, and that at worst there was no corruption comparable to that of the Civil War. These tolerant judgments probably deserve to stand. By World War I, as the army became more dependent upon abundant supply than ever before, the relative importance of the Quartermaster Corps in army supply began to shrink. The very complexity of its tasks necessitated distribution among various new supply organizations, and procurement had to be meshed increasingly into a national economic mobilization, which meant it could be no longer be left to professional soldiers alone. Thus it is a bygone era of quartermaster pre-eminence in military supply that Dr. Risch chronicles, but no military student of that era can afford to ignore her work.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 1781-1795. By *Harry M. Ward*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 287. \$4.95.) It is plain that this work grew out of a competent doctoral dissertation. Its sources are impressive, the manuscript section virtually overwhelming. Besides the story of the development of an administrative mechanism, one finds in this book brief narratives of Indian affairs, of Shays' and the Whiskey Rebellions and an account of the operation of most aspects of the military establishment from 1781 to 1795. Interpretations, however, are rare. When offered, they do not agree with those of some important scholars, but what interpretations do? Ward credits Generals Knox and Lincoln with first-rate administrative ability, a point on which, at least with regard to Knox, Leonard White did not concur in *The Federalists*. When Ward asserts that Secretary Knox was President Washington's closest adviser from his first inauguration until well into 1791, he seems to contradict Irving Brant's view in *James Madison*. As Ward sees the story, Washington's disappointing experience with the Senate as an advisory body, when he consulted it concerning a treaty with the Creek Indians in August 1789, induced him to search for some other group of councilors. Out of this experience the cabinet emerged as an executive council. Of course this is plausible, but is there actually any evidence that Washington ever meant to consult as frequently and intensively with the Senate as he did with his cabinet? Ward stresses that the War Department was the only

executive department to pass intact from government under the Confederation to that under the Constitution. He concludes, therefore, that it did much to preserve continuity and to establish the Constitution. This is probably true, but is not proved by his narrative. When presenting the sequence of events he is thorough and informative, but when interpreting, is much less so. The first and last chapters hardly seem part of the rest of the book. One never knows where the responsibility lies for typographical errors. I counted twelve. Fortunately some of them are funny and thus add a trace of humor to an otherwise very sober history.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

LA VIE AGRICOLE ET RURALE DANS L'ÉTAT D'INDIANA À L'ÉPOQUE PIONNIÈRE. By *Geneviève d'Haucourt*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, First Series. Études, Volume XII.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1961. Pp. 410.) Geneviève d'Haucourt has compiled a satisfactorily detailed and well-documented description of pioneer life in Indiana in the period between the first white settlements and the pre-Civil War era. All the fundamental information on geography, settlers and settlements, means of transportation and communication, religion, education, economy, and government is there. Extending the pioneer period almost to the mid-nineteenth century is a bit unusual and perhaps somewhat misleading, although the writer does generally establish the continuous waves of settlement and the noteworthy growth and change in the area. One might like a little more interpretation of the facts, but, of course, description rather than interpretation was obviously the author's objective. The book is well written and clearly organized. It does not contribute much new information, but capably summarizes information presently available; thus it is a worthwhile addition to the series of informational studies of which it is a part, "Le monde d'outre-mer." There are occasional minor difficulties in rendering English words into their French equivalents, but these difficulties do not lead to misconceptions that seriously impair the validity of the work. Hoosiers might well be pleased with the assertion that their ancestors had "Une imagination qui a doté l'Indiana de plus d'écrivains qu'aucun état de l'Union," and the number of Indiana writers is indeed considerable, but the implication of literary pre-eminence for the state might well be open to question. The book's documentation is excellent; the bibliography lists most of the important primary and secondary sources, and many of them are cited in the copious footnotes. One wonders why so distinguished and perceptive an observer of the general area as Tocqueville was not included, but perhaps his inclusion would not have changed either the over-all picture or the detail presented in this volume. The maps, charts, and illustrations are profuse, well selected, and helpful, especially to foreign readers. In short, the author has succeeded admirably in presenting a vivid and accurate picture of pioneer life in Indiana in very limited space. The study should be of particular interest and value to French readers who want to learn more of life in this part of the world during the frontier period.

Franklin College

MARY STEELE OWEN

FEDERAL STREET PASTOR: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. By *Madeleine Hooke Rice*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1961. Pp. 360. \$6.00.) Contemporaries often described William Ellery Channing as the most influential clergyman of the English-speaking world. A century later, in the designation of clerics for New York University's Hall of Fame, he ranked second only to Jonathan Edwards. His stature and reputation have survived the tests of time and perspective, but unfortunately

a definitive account of his life remains unwritten. Although there now are a half-dozen biographies, as well as numerous memoirs and topical monographs, no one has adequately explained the secret of Channing's vast influence. Ralph Waldo Emerson once characterized the Boston preacher as a "poor little invalid all his life . . . yet one of those men who vindicated the power of the American race to produce greatness." Though publicity for *Federal Street Pastor* features this quotation, the volume fails to illuminate the implicit questions of how and why. Dr. Rice, now associate professor at Hunter College, has combed public and private manuscript collections and has reviewed the extensive printed literature. Nevertheless, she has not solved the central problem: how could this highly introverted minister, who held aloof from the hurly-burly of contemporary affairs, have been so successful in molding public opinion? Channing's personality and pulpit success remain an enigma, but this biography does competently explore the ideas and ideals of a great mind. Perhaps the best chapters treat Channing's emergence as a Unitarian pioneer, his advocacy of social applications of the Gospels, and his relationship to the antislavery, temperance, and public education movements. There is considerable new material, moreover, on Channing's role in promoting Anglo-American cultural and philanthropic collaboration. In retrospect, however, one concludes that *Federal Street Pastor* is a rather misleading title. Actually, the latter half of William Ellery Channing's career included only part-time preaching in his Boston pulpit, and Dr. Rice has emphasized that he served as pastor at large to the Atlantic community.

University of Rhode Island

ROMAN J. ZORN

A GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES FOR AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, 1800-1900, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK: PRINTED MATERIALS. By Harry J. Carman and Arthur W. Thompson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xlvii, 630. \$15.00.) This second, and concluding, volume of Carman and Thompson's guide to sources available in New York City for the study of American civilization in the nineteenth century continues to reveal the immense utility of the work as a research tool. The first volume, which listed manuscript sources, was published in 1960; this one inventories the printed materials. Together they constitute a kind of union catalogue to the resources available for research on this aspect of American history in the city's numerous and widely dispersed libraries. Some sixty-six depositories have been surveyed, plus at least one other which appears to have escaped identification in the key to abbreviations. The thirty-six headings, under which the items are arranged, reflect the breadth of the authors' interpretation of what constitutes the materials of American history: architecture, cookery, description and travel, economic institutions, immigrant guides, invention and technology, and the legal profession, to mention only a few. The inclusion of references to numerous and occasionally fugitive bibliographies in all the fields is an added boon for the researcher. The most valuable contribution of the guide is that it brings to light the little-known material in the holdings of the less frequently consulted collections, and the topical arrangement seems to make pertinent items more apparent to the user than the customary card catalogue listings do. Less satisfactory is the authors' procedure in indicating the location of the sources, a problem complicated by the existence of duplicates in the case of printed materials. Here they have followed no consistent practice other than to list at least one library for each source, which, as they admit, "does not preclude the fact of its likely existence at one or more other locations." The user of the guide is therefore well advised to realize that, although one of the less accessible libraries is the only location cited, the work may be readily available in one or more of the city's major collections.

New York University

BAYRD STILL

THE FAR WEST AND ROCKIES: GENERAL ANALYTICAL INDEX TO THE FIFTEEN VOLUME SERIES AND SUPPLEMENT TO THE JOURNALS OF FORTY-NINERS, SALT LAKE TO LOS ANGELES. Prepared and edited with introductions and notes by *LeRoy R.* and *Ann W. Hafen.* [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume XV.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1961. Pp. 360. \$25.00 postpaid.) This is the concluding volume in "The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series" edited by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. It includes supplementary materials: journals, letters, reminiscences, statements, and illustrations drawn from little-known pioneer travelers. These pioneers crossed the southwestern desert from Salt Lake to Los Angeles during 1849-1852. Most of their travel records had been discovered subsequent to the publication of Volume II of the series, but it was deemed so important by the editors that the new material was added to the general analytical index. Through vivid descriptions and dramatic illustrations, some of this supplementary material adds life and compelling interest to the series. Charles V. Stuart, for example, describing the last segment of his colorful trip from Provo, Utah, to San Gabriel Mission, California, wrote: "The last part of our journey was one of extreme hardship both for men and animals. From Provo City to the Mohave River is one of the most God forsaken portions of this continent. . . . The last desert we passed in reaching the Mohave River was 112 miles without water, only such as we carried in our canteens." A 235-page index, lucid in style and simple in form and substance, is appended. This important part of the text should have been published as a small volume, independent of other extraneous materials, for it serves as a reference to the entire series. The series, brilliantly edited and integrated by the Hafens, represents a correlation of primary source materials: journals, letters, reports, government documents, maps, and well-chosen illustrations, depicting the dramatic and colorful theme of southwestward expansion from 1820 to 1875. Included in the series are such significant books as the *Old Spanish Trail*; *Journals of Forty-Niners*; *Rufus B. Sage, His Letters and Papers*; *Central Route to the Pacific*; *Journal of John R. Bell, Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820*; *Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861*; *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson, Frontier Photographer*; *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858*; *Fremont's Fourth Expedition, A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-49*; and *Handcarts to Zion*. Students of western American history are indebted to the Hafens for the publication of this splendid historical series. It is the standard authoritative work for the study of southwestern American expansion.

University of Utah

LELAND H. CREER

THE RUDOLPH MATAS HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN LOUISIANA. Volume II. Edited by *John Duffy.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press for the Rudolph Matas Trust Fund. 1962. Pp. xii, 599. \$10.00.) Rudolph Matas, eminent New Orleans surgeon and initiator of this work, collected the materials and planned the study. Professor Duffy, in reality the author, modestly designates himself as "editor." Although the major emphasis in this book is on the medical history of New Orleans, other areas of Louisiana also receive the author's attention. The present volume covers the period from 1825 to about 1920. It is further organized into two eras separated by the Civil War. In each era the author treats his subject topically, discussing the development of surgery, sanitation, epidemics, and other areas. Duffy presents a detailed development of Louisiana medicine. Noteworthy is his use of statistics on the number of deaths in epidemics, medical fees, hospital maintenance, and so forth. Unforgettable are the medical practices in the ante bellum period that were common also in medieval times; some form of purging and bleeding was prescribed for almost every ailment. Calomel

was the standard remedy ordered by many physicians until the early twentieth century. Surgery in the early period saw the use of "heroic" methods under which the patient suffered horribly. With the discovery of anesthesia in 1846, the general acceptance of aseptic techniques in the late 1870's, and the general advance in surgical procedures and knowledge, surgery in the post-Civil War period became an area of great lasting achievement in Louisiana medical history. Duffy has judiciously selected and arranged the material from the Matas collection and from other sources. At times his treatment seems too detailed, with repetition of subject matter because of the methodology employed. In general, however, Duffy's efforts have resulted in a thorough, well-documented, and interesting history which could become a model of its kind.

University of North Carolina

THOMAS HERNDON

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXVI, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1839-1845. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. [National Archives Publication Number 62-8.] (Washington, D. C.: National Archives; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1962. Pp. v, 1238. \$8.00.) This fifth and final volume of *Territorial Papers* relating to Florida, and the last volume of the great series to be produced by its meticulous editor, Clarence E. Carter, covers the administrations of Governor Robert Raymond Reid, 1839-1841, the third administration of Governor Richard Keith Call, 1841-1844, and Governor John Branch, 1844-1845, after which Florida became a state. The center of interest in the first third of the volume is the Seminole War which was declared ended in 1842. Documents reveal clearly the combination of pressure and persuasion employed to round up the scattered bands of Indians who had sought refuge in the swampy wilderness of the lower peninsula. Florida citizens remained somewhat unhappy that even a few of the savages stayed in Florida and demanded their removal. It was the fate of Governor Call, in whose administration the war was initiated, to see it terminated. He was not much better satisfied with administration policy and practice than he had been earlier, but was somewhat less critical in his official pronouncements. The middle group of documents contains a surprising volume of correspondence on the subject of live oak timber on the public lands reserved by law for the United States Navy. These communications reveal the continued existence of problems as old as the territorial government. Private lands were not yet surveyed and located; public lands could not be identified; records from the Spanish period were not complete and were often vague as to location and boundaries. It was impossible to patrol the extensive coastal and inland waters that gave access to the stands of timber, and no roads existed in the largely unoccupied interior. Armed occupation grants were being located in irregular shapes and sizes to include a maximum of the prized live oak. Little space is given to the coming of statehood in 1845, the papers already having been published elsewhere. A perusal of the five volumes of *Florida Territorial Papers* provides one justification for statehood and home rule. The conduct of government by slow, long distance from the national capital posed vexing problems of communication and caused confusion and delay.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

MISSISSIPPI HARVEST: LUMBERING IN THE LONGLEAF PINE BELT, 1840-1915. By *Nollie Hickman*. (University: University of Mississippi Press. 1962. Pp. 306. \$7.50.) In many ways this is an excellent study. Comparable in nature to Agnes M. Larson's *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota*, Hickman's volume deals with the longleaf pine industry in the southern twenty-five counties of Mississippi, an area considered fairly typical of the belt extending from southwestern Virginia to

eastern Texas in which that particular variety of pine grows. In an admirable fashion, the author traces this phase of American lumbering from its primitive beginnings prior to the Civil War to its golden age in the first years of the twentieth century and its subsequent decline, dealing with its many aspects in the process. Of special interest are Hickman's discussion of land policy and the techniques by which a relatively few companies amassed great holdings of prime timberland and his vivid description of labor and its treatment in the camps and at the mills. Neither picture is a very pretty one. In preparing his study, Hickman has utilized the available manuscript sources, which are too few, and has delved deeply in published primary materials. Adequate documentation and indexing and interesting illustrations increase the usefulness of the book. Unfortunately, the volume is marred by occasionally confusing organization and the author's tendency to belabor a point almost beyond endurance. The multitude of names of minor figures and small companies at times reminds the reader of an encyclopedia, although admittedly the detail gives the book part of its value. Far more distressing, however, are the careless printing and construction of the volume. So great are the errors, in fact, that it is difficult indeed to understand how they could have slipped by a reasonably conscientious printer. One can easily imagine the feelings of the author and to a degree sympathize with him.

Mississippi State University

ROY V. SCOTT

THE KNOW NOTHING PARTY IN NEW ORLEANS: A REAPPRAISAL. By *Leon Cyprian Soulé*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association; distrib. by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1961. Pp. 128. \$5.00.) In New Orleans, where the Creole and immigrant Catholics in the 1850's controlled the Democratic party, the American or Know-Nothing party became the instrument by which the growing Protestant-American group gained political dominance. New Orleans Know-Nothings, however, were highly illogical nativists, as Professor Soulé makes clear. They frankly courted Catholic and immigrant support, thus alienating their upper-class supporters, and then allied with the labor movement, electing union members as mayors in 1858 and 1860. By such pragmatic adjustments the party flourished until the Union occupation brought brief political peace. This study in depth justifies local history by revealing much that escaped such historians of nativism as W. D. Overdyke and Carleton Beals, but New Orleans nativism was so unique that Soulé's findings have little significance for the national Know-Nothing party. Relying heavily on newspapers for lack of more private sources, the monograph does not relate the economic history of the period, particularly the labor movement, to its political theme. It is a foundation stone for a political history of the city, which would establish a continuity between prewar and postwar political turbulence in New Orleans. The photostatic maps are essential aids to the text.

University of Cincinnati

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM ALEXANDER GRAHAM. Volume IV, 1851-1856. By *J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1961. Pp. xviii, 701. \$3.00.) Volume IV of this valuable series, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, whose lamented death occurred immediately before the copy went to press, resembles its predecessors in format and editorial technique. At the outset a convenient table of letters to and from Graham, speeches and other writings, and miscellaneous letters is presented. The materials begin in 1851, with Graham in office as Secretary of the Navy in President Fillmore's cabinet, and often concern patronage, Whig politics, railroad building in North Carolina, and communications from naval officers (of whom Commodore M. C. Perry is best remembered). Graham engaged in

prepresidential maneuvering on behalf of Fillmore's nomination, on the basis of the President's support of "the finality" of the Compromise of 1850, as well as his enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. A wholly favorable picture of Fillmore emerges from these pages. Many southerners favored a Fillmore-Graham ticket in 1852, but it was something of a disappointment and anticlimax when they had to settle for a Whig ticket of Scott and Graham. While this fact made General Scott's presidential candidacy more palatable to certain southerners, confidential letters herein forecast the defeat of the Whigs in 1852. A private citizen again, Graham returned home to Hillsboro, where he superintended his plantations and other business. Much interested in North Carolina revolutionary history, Graham devoted some attention to historical publications, in collaboration with his friend D. L. Swain. In 1854 Graham accepted election to the state senate, but during ensuing years witnessed repeated political disappointments as his beloved Whig party disintegrated. As was to be expected, this high-minded North Carolinian refused to countenance Know-Nothingism or to join the American party, but predictably he warmly advocated the presidential bid of his old chief, former President Fillmore, in 1856. This he could do because of that leader's demonstrated fairness to all sections and adherence to basic Whig doctrines. It would be well if this series could be rounded out by the publication of another volume to embrace the final phases of Graham's long career.

Washington and Lee University

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

K STOLETIU GRAZHDANSKOI VOINY V SShA [On the Centennial of the Civil War in the USA]. Edited by *A. V. Efimov* and *L. I. Zubok*. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1961. Pp. 584.) Chiefly interesting as a predictable Soviet interpretation of various aspects of the Civil War, this volume's contributions often are heavily larded with ideology. The introduction by A. V. Efimov directly exploits the collection's theme for a frontal attack on contemporary America. He charges that leading reactionary and racist circles in the United States have corrupted the true meaning of the conflict in their celebration of its anniversary and that many historians, such as Allan Nevins who "sings the praises of millionaires," have supported these groups by their writings. Ridicule is heaped upon the deluding sentimentality of the centennial celebration thus far. Did not Robert E. Lee, described by General Ulysses S. Grant III as "a great and knightly American soldier and citizen," in fact fight to defend and preserve slavery, asks the editor. Not surprisingly, recent events in Little Rock are also discussed. The titles of many of the articles suggest the general tenor of the work: "The Anti-Slavery Views of John Brown," "Frederick Douglass—Leader of the Revolutionary Wing of the Abolitionist Movement," "The Homestead Act and the 'American' Way of Developing Capitalism in an Agrarian Economy," "The Period of Reconstruction as the Second Stage in the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in the U. S." Of particular interest to American historians should be the long concluding essay on "Major Trends in American Historiography of the Civil War and Reconstruction."

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

CONFISCATION OF CONFEDERATE PROPERTY IN THE NORTH. By *Henry D. Shapiro*. [Cornell Studies in American History, Literature, and Folklore, Number 7.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 58. \$1.50.) This brief monograph is concerned with some aspects of federal confiscation of southern-owned property in the North during the Civil War. Detaching himself from the question of legitimacy of such confiscation, the author confines his study to a description of the passage of confiscation acts by Congress and to a discussion of the process by which these laws were placed into operation in one area, the southern district of New York.

Although there was considerable confusion involved in early implementation, the author concludes that the acts were vigorously applied in the southern district and, in so far as his limited study applies, challenges the traditional view, based upon studies of James G. Randall, that lack of enforcement made the confiscation acts largely ineffective. The use of admiralty records, Treasury records of confiscation suits, and reports of district attorneys and marshals in this study is commendable. It is regrettable that the scope of the work is so limited; perhaps the author will enlarge the coverage in subsequent studies.

Lamar State College of Technology

RALPH A. WOOSTER

THE UNREGIMENTED GENERAL: A BIOGRAPHY OF NELSON A. MILES. By *Virginia Weisel Johnson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1962. Pp. 401. \$6.95.) For more than three decades following the close of the Civil War the American army lived a precarious life. A number of young officers who had made names for themselves in "the" war elected to make a career of the military service, and, in the dreary years that followed, the escalator of promotion appeared to have been hopelessly clogged. In an era of reduced appropriations and of a shriveling military arm there was fierce rivalry among officers for attention at headquarters. The best vehicle was the series of so-called Indian "wars" of the West. Here young braves on both sides vied for honors. Nelson A. Miles was not so rash as George Custer, but he was just as much a young man in a hurry. In the Peninsular Campaign of 1862 he had come to General Edwin V. Sumner's attention through his anxiety to be of service, and "Old Bull" had remarked, "That officer will get promoted or get killed." He was promoted because he was as tough as whang leather in his campaigns against the Plains tribes, because, unlike Custer, he lived to earn seniority, and because he and his wife made constant demands for a "break" from higher-ups, the most important of whom was a relative by marriage named William Tecumseh Sherman. Mrs. Johnson has let her subject off easily by calling him "unregimented." Throughout her book she has quoted liberally from the general's letters to his wife, supplied to the author by his son, Sherman Miles, and through them one sees the same Miles students of history have known for years: a combination of ambition, vanity, impatience, and irascibility. Now, in greater detail, the reader may watch the growing rivalry between Crook and Miles, with the former always a frustrating step ahead in the promotion lists, and the constant scanning of possibilities for advance in that forlorn little postwar army. The new Miles biography will be of use principally to those interested in western Indian campaigns, the Civil and Spanish-American Wars being primarily prologue and epilogue to the subject's career. It will take its place alongside biographies of other officers who made names for themselves trying to solve the unsolvable "Indian question."

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

ADMIRAL RICHARD WAINWRIGHT AND THE UNITED STATES FLEET. By *Damon E. Cummings*. With a foreword by *Harry E. Yarnell* and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. 1962. Pp. xviii, 266. \$2.75.) In this book Captain Damon E. Cummings emphasizes the quantum technological jump experienced in the United States Navy between 1862 and 1926. He makes his point by tracing the service life of Richard Wainwright whose perceptive years began in 1862, when the *Monitor* and *Virginia* made wooden ships obsolete, spanned the forty-year transition that ended in 1902 when the navy finally acquired a fleet of steel ships driven by reciprocating engines, included significant steps for creating the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, and, during the years after his retirement, extended to 1926, when aircraft and their carriers promised to

crown the technological era dominated by steel and the reciprocating engine. Cummings' book deals with the entire period in a manner that explains its apparently slow rate of progress. Those passages overlapping his own career give insight into subjective forces operating within the naval officer corps early in our century. It also suggests strongly the need for similar biographical treatment of such Wainwright contemporaries as T. B. M. Mason, James R. Soley, and Seaton Schroeder. Cummings achieved his immediate objective by emphasizing how much Wainwright contributed toward converting mere ships into a truly operational fleet. In any larger sense the book is far from definitive because it does little more than suggest lines for further investigation. Though unconventional, its documentation will serve others who work through Cummings' sources. Perhaps the book's greatest value is its inadvertent illumination of our own future. By using this story of man's long struggle to master steel and the reciprocating engine, an imaginative reader can gain insight into the timetable for converting the H-bomb and the ICBM into items available for industrial or military use.

Annapolis, Maryland

W. H. RUSSELL

JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING: FIRST BISHOP OF PEORIA, AMERICAN EDUCATOR. By *John Tracy Ellis*. [The Gabriel Richard Lecture, 1961.] (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company for the National Catholic Educational Association. 1962. Pp. 106. \$2.75.) Bishop Spalding believed the Church's divine and mystic character fashioned the individual in the divine image and freed in him forces for great development, intellectual as well as moral. He worked to create in the United States circumstances and atmosphere conducive to these accomplishments. Believing education must include the inculcation of Christian moral values, he saw it not as the function of the state alone but as an obligation of the family and the Church—in parochial schools. He eschewed any involvement of parochial education in school matters dominated by the state. Readers concerned with current controversies over tax money for parochial school use will find some pertinent background on the subject here.

Manual High School, Peoria, Illinois

HAZEL C. WOLF

TRENDS IN NATURAL RESOURCE COMMODITIES: STATISTICS OF PRICES, OUTPUT, CONSUMPTION, FOREIGN TRADE, AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1957. By *Neal Potter* and *Francis T. Christy, Jr.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future. 1962. Pp. ix, 568. \$17.50.) Intelligent analysis of the nation's use of its resources, past, present, or future, requires a theoretical framework and adequate statistical data. This book is a notable achievement in the latter area. Data on commodities exist in abundance and are widely diffused through a bewildering number of publications, often contradictory. The authors have organized, in some four hundred tables and two hundred supplementary charts and graphs, data on about one hundred commodities. Where more than one usable series exists, reasons are presented for their preference. Their detailed notes and explanations should aid the intelligent use of this material. Adverse criticisms are few and not serious. The authors use time series of employment per unit of output in measuring efficiency of production. Output per unit of employment seems to be a more common measure. Simple but tedious arithmetic becomes necessary to convert one or the other. Faced with changes in the length of the work week, output per man-hour is the more ideal measure of productivity. Man-hour series have been made available by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the National Bureau of Economic Research. A way might have been found to include these series in this work. The inclusion of series on employment per unit of output should prove helpful in comparing the relative efficiencies

of resource industries to those not so directly affected by depletion and declining quality of natural resources. Data on natural reserves have been omitted. This seems justifiable, however, since there is only a limited amount of data on reserves, and these data are based on not a little guesswork. Although the authors make a significant contribution by offering a body of organized, simplified, and clarified statistical data, there are no analyses or conclusions.

Southern Methodist University

JOHN S. SPRATT

THE INDIAN TRADERS. By *Frank McNitt*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 393. \$5.95.) The Indian trader was one of the key figures in Indian-white relations. He and the agent were the two white men most influential in shaping the life of the reservation Indian. And of the two, the trader was usually more important. His average tenure was longer, and whereas the agent might find it wise to remain aloof from his charges, the successful trader was friend and counselor. Not that the relationship was always cordial; the author reports murders of over twenty traders between 1901 and 1934. McNitt's traders were located in the Southwest and did business principally with the Navaho, Hopi, and Zuni. Although there is a section devoted to the trading frontier in the Southwest prior to 1846, the emphasis is on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Singled out for the most attention are Thomas Keam, Jacob Hamblin, the Mormon John D. Lee, Lorenzo Hubbell, Solomon Bibo, and Henry Chee Dodge. McNitt is not the first to discover the importance of the trader. Ruth Underhill has compared the relationship of trader and agent to that of shogun and emperor. Other scholars have indicated the extent traders altered Indian crafts by introducing new materials and techniques. McNitt's contribution is to trace in detail the careers of several traders. To accomplish this he has searched the archives, interviewed over a hundred people, and visited the sites of old trading posts. These traders seem to be a representative group. One takes advantage of his position to secure, on very favorable terms, a long-term lease to Indian land. Others are continually embroiled in power struggles with the agent, using as weapons their own political connections and influence with the Indians. Self-interest motivated both agents and traders, and generally each was engaged in unethical activity while assailing the other for defrauding the Indians. The National Archives abounds with files of such charges and countercharges. McNitt also documents the role of the trader in helping the Indians develop crafts to supplement their income from crops and herds. For example, Lorenzo Hubbell and C. N. Cotton led in the development of a rug industry among the Navaho; J. B. Morse introduced designs more appealing to white customers and was a factor in the change to commercial dyes. More attention to this phase of the traders' activities would have made this an even better book. As it is, the author sometimes strays from his subject, as when he gets involved in a lengthy discussion of a Navaho agent's administration or the difficulty at Beautiful Mountain, which was only tangential to the Indian trade. An annoying stylistic feature is the failure to include in footnotes page references to all printed sources. The book is valuable for the detail it gives on the trade: prices charged, principal commodities involved, Indian tastes in consumer goods, and the history and operation of particular trading posts.

North Texas State University

WILLIAM T. HAGAN

AN ARMY DOCTOR'S WIFE ON THE FRONTIER: LETTERS FROM ALASKA AND THE FAR WEST, 1874-1878. Edited by *Abe Laufer*. Preliminary editing by the late *Russell J. Ferguson*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 352. \$6.00.) This is a collection of letters from Emily Fitzgerald, a wife in her late twenties, mostly to her mother. After descriptions of ocean travel from New York, half

the book is devoted to accounts of domestic life during a twenty-month assignment at Sitka, Alaska. Isolation, monotony of winter, inadequacies of some ordinary supplies and lack of others, problems of raising a baby and a two-year-old child in so remote a place all bore so heavily on Mrs. FitzGerald that understandably the dominant note in these letters is bitterness. The family next moved for a seventeen-month stay at Fort Lapwai, Idaho, where an idyllic life was abruptly shattered by fears of an attack on the fort and then worry about the doctor's safety as he served in the Nez Perce War. From the sojourn at Fort Boise, Idaho, few letters survived. The volume vividly shows the insecurities, the difficulties, and the isolation of western life which often weighed more severely on women than men.

University of Idaho

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

THE MEMOIRS OF RAY LYMAN WILBUR, 1875-1949. Edited by *Edgar Eugene Robinson* and *Paul Carroll Edwards*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 687. \$10.00.) Because of ghost writers and the accelerated tempo of our age, memoirs are no longer fashionable, a fact that future historians may regret, for memoirs give a fine insight into the thought and attitudes of the men who helped shape events. Born in Iowa in 1875, Wilbur spent his childhood following the frontier westward, eventually arriving in California in 1887. He entered Stanford in 1892, one year after the school had opened, and completed his formal education by taking an M.D. at Cooper Medical College in 1899. A year later young Dr. Wilbur was appointed to the Stanford faculty, and henceforth his career, except for an interlude as Secretary of Interior in Hoover's administration, was inextricably entwined with that of Stanford University. Wilbur was scarcely an introspective intellectual, but he represented the empirical, common-sense tradition of the American frontier. He also embodied the American spirit of loyalty: to one's organization (in his case, Stanford University), to one's friends (the Stanford classes of 1895, 1896, and 1897 in particular), and to one's country. When the first major case involving academic freedom, the "Ross Affair," broke on the Stanford campus, Wilbur obviously could not understand why the individuals involved should place their devotion to abstract principles before their loyalty to Mrs. Stanford. He commented that some fine men resigned in protest "but equally fine men promptly took their places." He learned, too, that "a worthwhile institution can ride any storm well if it is staffed by loyal and devoted men." On his first trip to Europe Wilbur was impressed by the level of medical research, but he found much that jarred his American sensibilities in that "queer old semi-civilized continent. . . ." As a doctor who never completely relinquished his practice, he fought vigorously for private medicine, but his university and other wide-ranging activities showed him that much of preventive medicine properly belonged in public hands, and, to his credit, in this area he grew with his times. As Secretary of Interior he displayed the same loyalty to Hoover that he had devoted to Stanford, and, like his chief, he seems never to have realized the enormity of the Great Depression. His only acquaintance with relative poverty had been as a farm boy on the western frontier, and he was entirely unable to grasp the desperation of the thousands of unemployed factory workers. To the end of his life he was convinced that local authorities could have dealt with the relief problem. Wilbur's *Memoirs* reveal him as a kindly individual, a good administrator, and a product of his times.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN DUFFY

FARMS IN THE CUTOVER: AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT IN NORTH-ERN WISCONSIN. By *Arlan Helgeson*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. vii, 184. \$4.25.) This

short volume of the "Landmark Series" tells the tragic story of the great optimism that guided the colonization efforts made in the Wisconsin cutover after the great timber harvest had taken place. It records in readable style and with measured judgments the efforts made by individuals, corporations, and state and local governments to do what seemed natural: to convert the Wisconsin pinelands into the traditional frontier opportunity for the poor and land hungry. Most of the promoters were such operators as the Evangelical Lutheran Company (founded to entice Germans of that faith), the Rusk Farm Company of Benjamin Faast, and dozens of others who either bought cut-over land from the lumber companies or promoted settlement on government lands. The Wisconsin College of Agriculture established experimental stations to help prove the value of the northern farm lands, one of the deans wrote a valuable propaganda pamphlet that was widely used by private promoters, and two of the deans had both a financial and a scholarly interest in Wisconsin's last frontier. Professor Helgeson concludes that colonization did not fail, though most of the companies did, and points out that between 1900 and 1920, one million acres of timberland were cleared and planted to crops. He succinctly states that by 1920 even the promoters had decided that this frontier was different and could not be the escape valve for the poor and the landless as had once been believed.

Wisconsin State College, Whitewater

WALKER D. WYMAN

TIME ENOUGH: ESSAYS IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Frank Luther Mott*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. 248. \$6.00.) *Time Enough* is a treasury of reminiscences: quiet, leisurely, warm with humor, and illumined with unobtrusive wisdom. Looking back over a life that began in the closing years of the nineteenth century, Frank Luther Mott recalls those personal experiences which reflect the manners and customs of the times. Through his memory, we view the old-fashioned Friends' meeting attended by a Quaker boy and his family, sit in a revival meeting conducted by William A. (Billy) Sunday, experience the smells and sounds of a country printing office, meet a few of the teachers who helped to nurture the desire for learning within young Frank. The reader moves to more recent experiences with an account of Mott's struggles to find a publisher for his significant and massive history of American magazines, his wartime experiences in the Biarritz American University, and his mission to Japan in the immediate postwar days. No attempt is made at completeness, either in the scope of the author's life or in the individual topics presented in the fifteen chapters. Rather, each chapter is exactly what it purports to be: a recounting of those recollections and meditations about which the author feels moved to write. The journalist will find much that touches upon his field of endeavor in a delightful chapter about a country editor's office, some perceptive comments on education for journalism, and a heartfelt declaration of faith in the profession of journalism. The historian will find not a recounting of events of significance but rather an interpretation of some aspects of family and community life of fifty years ago. The narrative is intensely personal in that it makes no pretense of touching upon materials that lie beyond the writer's experiences. Reviewing his busy life, Mott concludes that every person has time enough to do those things he really wants to do. He tells of his own wrestling with Father Time: calendars of things to be done and schedules of activities, until he became aware of the need for periods of meditation, for patience, and for the careful direction of energy. For those who live in a hurry, his words arouse hope for some distant future when they, too, may enjoy the richness of meditating and reminiscing. *Time Enough* should be read for pleasure and contemplation. To open it for a more utilitarian objective would be to misjudge its purpose.

University of Texas

DEWITT C. REDDICK

DIPLOMATIC PROTEST IN FOREIGN POLICY: ANALYSIS AND CASE STUDIES. By *Joseph C. McKenna, S.J.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. xiii, 222. \$6.00.) For the United States, a nation which above all others has sought to eliminate from international relations all manner of physical coercion, the questions raised by this volume are of supreme significance. Denying through much of this century the legitimacy of force or its threatened use, the United States has relied heavily on a wide variety of verbal responses to challenges abroad. Many of these responses have assumed the form of diplomatic protest, defined by the author as the assertion of verbal pressure on another nation to achieve retribution for some infringement of a rule of behavior clearly established by custom and agreement. It is always a direct appeal to reason, principle, or international morality. To discover the efficacy of this mode of diplomatic action, the author has sampled a series of 598 complaints that the United States has presented to other countries, which span the years 1900-1903, 1913-1918, and 1927-1930. He has followed this survey with a detailed analysis of five episodes, beginning with the American protest to England in 1914 over the British infringement of neutral rights and terminating with the American disapproval of the meeting of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1935. By far the greatest number of complaints have sought protection of American nationals or the proper conditions of commerce. The United States gained its objectives in 55 per cent of the cases examined; it suffered absolute failure in a fourth of them. The remaining 20 per cent produced uncertain results. In accounting for the success or failure of diplomatic protest, the author arrives at a series of logical conclusions. Success has varied in direct proportion to the disparity of power between the United States and the challenged nation, as well as to the value that such a nation places on the friendship of the United States. It has varied in adverse ratio to the national interest and prestige involved. This explains why diplomatic protest has generally proved to be ineffective in time of war. The record of the United States in actions of protest in no way suggests a pattern of futility, but it demonstrates clearly the limits of diplomatic success through appeals to reason and legality alone.

University of Illinois

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

THE NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Armin Rappaport*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1962. Pp. xi, 271. \$7.50.) Frankly, the Navy League of the United States was created as a pressure group promoting a powerful and efficient navy. Its struggle against public apathy and the strong, well-financed propaganda of pacifist and antimilitary groups forms the central theme of Professor Rappaport's highly useful study. Working mainly from the records of the league, he traces its life up to the 1952 golden jubilee. Thus the volume offers an unusual opportunity to study both the program and the effects of a pressure group. Some of Rappaport's findings are revisionary, if not revolutionary, such as his discovery that the organization was a paper dragon hobbled throughout most of its first fifty years by insufficient funds and few members. He further argues, convincingly, that during most of its life the league exercised little influence and that when league-backed legislation was passed, outside factors rather than league propaganda were usually responsible. He also attacks and demolishes the hackneyed charge that the league served as the front for a sinister munitions and shipbuilding lobby. But this does not mean, as the author seems to suggest, that the league's motivation was always above suspicion. It is regrettable that he did not search more deeply into the motives of the organization's leaders, particularly those of Robert M. Thompson and William Howard Gardiner, who ruled the league as a personal fief during much of its life. Were they simply patriotic Americans dedicated to maintaining the strength of the country through a powerful

navy? Or were there perhaps other though not necessarily sinister motivations? Both men, it should be noted, nearly killed the league by using it as a vehicle to carry on personal vendettas—Thompson with Josephus Daniels, and Gardiner with Herbert Hoover.

Morris Harvey College

K. JACK BAUER

MR. SAM. By C. Dwight Dorough. (New York: Random House. 1962. Pp. xvii, 597, xvii. \$8.50.) C. Dwight Dorough, who teaches English at the University of Houston, has been an ardent admirer of the late Samuel T. Rayburn for more than three decades. He began assembling material for the Rayburn story in 1948 and in 1959 went to work in earnest with the permission of "Mr. Sam" and with aid from the Rayburn Research Fund. The result can scarcely be called a critical biography. Though based on records in the Rayburn Library in Bonham, Texas, and on proceedings of the Texas legislature, congressional records, and other public documents, footnoting is capricious, there is an excess of eulogies and encomiums, tributes and testimonials, citations and commendations, and, throughout, the author never wavers in his belief that the man who broke all records for length of service as Speaker of the House was perhaps "the greatest living figure in American life." Still, *Mr. Sam* has all the merits of a labor of love and loyalty. From the mass of lovingly accumulated detail emerges a clear and convincing picture of a man who began public life, as member of the Texas legislature (1906-1912), with rural and regional prejudices, but who, during his long service in Washington (1913-1961), steadily enlarged his grasp of the forces remaking the twentieth-century world and, in the thirties, became "one of the founding fathers of a new America." The reports, moreover, of personal interviews with Rayburn make fascinating reading, and the book as a whole illuminates our understanding of the high art of parliamentary procedure of which Rayburn was an acknowledged master. "I love this House," Rayburn once declared in opening a session of Congress. "It is my life." A "Congressman's Congressman," with "an almost Platonic respect for the profession of politics," he nonetheless disliked being called a compromiser; he preferred the term "persuader." Indeed, he was no "yes man." "When two men agree on everything," he liked to say, "one of them is doing all the thinking." "Looky, Mr. President," he once told Roosevelt when the latter's attention wandered, "by God, I'm talking to you. You had better listen." Presidents, as well as congressmen, found it wise to listen to Rayburn. Rarely straying from the "sacred center," he was, in the main, a loyal supporter of the New Deal and came, in time, even to support moderate civil rights legislation. When Eisenhower's name was proposed for the Democratic nomination in 1948, Rayburn exclaimed: "Good man but wrong job!" Essentially Dorough is saying of Rayburn: "Good man and right job."

Southern Methodist University

PAUL F. BOLLER, JR.

THE ROAD TO NORMALCY: THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1920. By Wesley M. Bagby. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXX (1962), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1962. Pp. 206. \$4.50.) Based on nineteen manuscript collections, numerous memoirs, and half a dozen newspapers, this is an inside political history. By my count (the bibliography is incomplete), ten magazine articles have also been used. Much of the scholarly work of the past decade has been passed over. Schriftgiesser's work on Lodge, for example, is cited, but not Garraty's. No dissertation and only one scholarly article have been drawn upon. Nor is there a systematic examination of the labor, business, agricultural, religious, and foreign-language press. Within the narrow limits im-

posed by his plan, Mr. Bagby has focused sharply. His style is clear, his bias controlled, and his findings often suggestive. Conflicting evidence is carefully weighed, and the story is developed logically. The result is a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the preconvention maneuvers, the formation of party platforms, and the conduct of the campaign. Bryan's effort to lead the Democratic convention to a constructive compromise on the League and to prevent it from swinging to the Right on domestic issues is illuminated. Lodge's partisanship is confirmed. Cox is shown to be a racist, a moderate progressive, and a reluctant, but forthright, advocate of the League. Taft, Root, W. A. White, Hoover, and other pro-League Republicans emerge as weak, or partisan, compromisers. The author's most important conclusions are: McAdoo would have been nominated had he declared himself; the Democratic party moved to the Right; Wilson dictated its no-compromise stand on the League; and the burden of Harding's speeches "was against the league." Although Bagby believes that isolationism and conservatism had some influence on the election's outcome, he suggests that many progressives voted Republican in protest against the illiberality of Wilson and Palmer. He further suggests that labor and farmer resentment against wartime restrictions contributed to Republican victory.

Bucknell University

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

HERBERT HOOVER AND ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY: DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE POLICY, 1921-1928. By *Joseph Brandes*. Foreword by *Lewis Strauss*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 237. \$4.50.) Those who write on the public career of Herbert Hoover invariably encounter two special problems. One is the extreme partisan attitude taken by those who have previously studied his career. The second is the extreme sensitiveness of Hoover himself, and those who were close to him, to criticism. They, like Lewis Strauss in the foreword to this book, are convinced that Hoover's contributions to his country and humanity have been deliberately distorted by misrepresentation and calumny and that unbiased history will vindicate all that Hoover has done. Despite the effort to give a balanced account of Hoover's economic foreign policy while he was Secretary of Commerce from 1921 to 1928, this expanded Ph.D. dissertation does not escape the difficulties mentioned above. In the main, it praises a record of dubious accomplishment. This praise runs through the attempts to analyze the motives behind Hoover's economic policies, assess their development, and describe the policy-making process on the intradepartmental level. Implicit throughout, also, are the assumptions that Hoover's ideas were prominent in the shaping of America's position in the postwar world and that the Department of Commerce became the guiding force in foreign economic policy, more so than the Department of State. Hoover's insight, popularity, and administrative ability, the author maintains, enabled him to assume this major part in the making of economic foreign policy. There is no doubt, as this documented history shows, that Hoover as Secretary of Commerce was a powerful figure. Yet the record also suggests that he lacked insight and did not understand the world in which he lived. He was a narrow economic nationalist, who, while decrying foreign restrictions on American goods and urging more exports, favored a protective tariff and economic combinations at home. As Brandes points out, Hoover failed to see beyond his own concept of America's interests and frequently ignored diplomatic considerations for the limited aims of economic nationalism. Even though this monograph, like other studies on Hoover, does not adequately explain Hoover as a maker of policy and at times obscures main issues by dwelling on minor matters, it is a noteworthy effort to illuminate a dismal period in the history of our economic foreign policy.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

BOSS CERMAK OF CHICAGO: A STUDY OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. By *Alex Gottfried*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 459. \$6.50.) On February 15, 1933, Anton J. Cermak, mayor of Chicago, until then a name of only local importance, became a national figure. On that day in Miami, Florida, bullets fired by a naturalized Italian and intended for President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt seriously wounded Cermak. Three weeks later, weakened by the wound, he died. But, according to the author, death was attributed to ulcerative colitis—a cause not always given. The subject of Mr. Gottfried's biography cannot be described as one of Chicago's greatest mayors, although the author considers Cermak's skill as an organizer and administrator outstanding. It is in the role of political leader that the book most successfully describes the achievements of a man risen from low estate to the highest honor his city could bestow. Born in Bohemia, Cermak was Chicago's first foreign-born mayor, despite the numerous ethnic groups which from an early day formed a large part of the population and exercised political influence. Of limited education, he rose to power step by step, from "ward heeler" to precinct captain, ward committeeman, alderman, and to other city offices, as well as membership in the State Assembly and president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners. In 1931 Cermak, the Democrat, ran for mayor against Republican William Hale Thompson. With the city's leading newspapers, labor, and business endorsing him and with his large following among minority groups, he was elected by the greatest majority recorded up to that time for any mayoralty candidate. Appendixes and notes follow the text. The former includes a brief historical résumé of Cook County and Chicago and a discussion of "Leadership and Psychosomatic Analysis." In subjecting Cermak to a psychosomatic analysis to determine reasons why he rose to power, the author does not temper his judgments with other important factors that should have been considered. Although he failed to enhance the value of his study by examining manuscript and other sources available, he has, nonetheless, written a book which, on the whole, accomplishes his purposes.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

THE INEVITABLE SUCCESS: HERBERT R. O'CONOR. By *Harry W. Kirwin*. With an introduction by *Lyndon B. Johnson*. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 580. \$6.75.) Beginning as assistant state's attorney for Baltimore in 1921, O'Connor progressed steadily in Maryland politics to the governor's chair. His winning of a Senate seat in 1946 projected him upon the national scene; he did not seek a second term, a wise decision in the light of two strokes in 1957 and a fatal attack three years later. O'Connor had a number of political assets. His family life was wholesome; he had no vices. Determined and single-purposed, he attracted the attention of influential men, beginning with Frank R. Kent, editor of the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. A convincing public speaker, O'Connor eloquently espoused the virtues of public integrity and efficiency, and these he put into practice. Perhaps, as this book's title would seem to imply, O'Connor was destined to be one of fate's favorites; at any rate, it was his good fortune to have drawn Professor Kirwin as chronicler. Marred only by an occasional overfondness for detail, this is political biography at its best—balanced and discerning in its viewpoints and skillful in its probing of the important issues, state and national, that affected, and were in turn affected by, its central character.

Morgan State College

BENJAMIN QUARLES

SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE: THE LIFE OF WILL ALEXANDER. By *Wilma Dykeman* and *James Stokely*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 343. \$5.95.) Alexander Heard, in the foreword to this biography, aptly characterizes it as "a sophisticated kind of edited sketchbook from memory—the memories of a great

many people, the most important of them being the subject himself." Although undocumented, the book is based on the reminiscences Alexander recorded for the Oral History Project of Columbia University, the files of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, and the records of the Farm Security Administration and other agencies and organizations in which he was involved. The work is a warm and sympathetic account rather than a scholarly treatment of the odyssey of this remarkable southern liberal. It succeeds in capturing the spirit of the man and illuminates many reform organizations and movements significant in the history of the recent South.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume II, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 7357.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. vi, 863. \$3.25.) This volume of the 1942 series is devoted almost exclusively to United States relations with European states which, to varying degrees, were under the domination of Germany and caught in the vortex of world conflict. For this reason, much of the volume provides poignant reading. Relations with Belgium were centered around efforts of the United States and Great Britain to effect a satisfactory trade agreement for the Congo with the government in exile. Somewhat more complicated were Finnish-United States relations. The State Department walked a tight rope in which the design was to keep Finland sufficiently disturbed over the possibility of a diplomatic rupture to maintain Finnish activity against the Russians at a minimum, while avoiding such a rupture in order to obviate throwing the despairing Finns into a vigorous offensive in conjunction with the German forces. Indeed, the tragic situation of the Finns has the principal characteristics of classic Greek drama. The tortuous and delicate relations with Vichy up to the severance of diplomatic relations in December 1942 include the questions of limited supplies (especially fuel oil) for civilian North Africa, Japanese use of French ships in French Indochina, and negotiations with Admiral Georges Robert concerning the neutrality of French possessions in the Caribbean. Relations with the Greek government in exile centered about the frantic efforts of the Greeks to get sufficient foodstuffs through the British blockade to prevent mass starvation.

George Washington University

J. L. BOONE ATKINSON

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. JOHN F. KENNEDY. CONTAINING THE PUBLIC MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, JANUARY 20 TO DECEMBER 31, 1961. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office for the National Archives. 1962. Pp. I, 908. \$6.00.) This is another volume in the series of presidential public papers which the General Services Administration began to issue following the recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission in 1957. The main text consists of 522 items, arranged chronologically on 819 double-columned pages and set in small but clear type. As with the preceding volumes of Eisenhower public papers and the single volume of Truman papers published to date, editorial notes are brief, but a full index provides access to the materials. Appendixes contain chronological lists of press releases, presidential documents published in the *Federal Register*, executive orders, and the rules governing the publication of the series. It is certainly impressive that such a compilation can appear so soon after the end of its period. Historians will be grateful to Editor Warren R. Reid and his associates, and they will hope that nothing be allowed to interrupt the flow of these splendid volumes. While most of the items in the book are of a routine nature and serve only to impress the casual reader with the enormous amount of energy that has to go into the day-to-day conduct of the presidency today, the transcripts of the nineteen

news conferences and the speeches to Democratic gatherings afford an opportunity to see the President as a person. Several impressions remain after a reading of these items: most of Kennedy's work in his first year was in foreign policy; the President has a grasp of detail and an ability to discuss questions in an informal manner unequaled since Franklin Roosevelt; he tends to mix up sentence structure when faced with a question calling for a cautious reply; his conservatism comes through steadily, reminding one of the outlook of a Tory reformer; and his wit is quick and occasionally hilarious. My favorite witticism was at the expense of the Secretary of the Interior, whose efforts to promote the sale of tickets to a fund raising dinner had caused a considerable amount of embarrassment to the administration and had been given elaborate press coverage. In his remarks at the dinner the President included among those to whom thanks were due, "Stew Udall who handled the publicity."

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

DOCUMENTS ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1917-1939. Selected and edited by *Walter A. Riddell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. liii, 806. \$13.50.) Dr. Walter A. Riddell, former Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand and professor of international relations at the University of Toronto, has performed a notable service in assembling this massive collection of documents. The purpose of the collection is not, as the title might suggest, so much to summarize Canadian foreign policy as to "describe the final and most significant stage in Canada's march to nationhood." In a country where independence has been achieved by gradual and evolutionary means, efforts to win freedom to pursue policy independent of Great Britain have been instrumental in aiding the establishment and definition of sovereignty. The documents, together with a brief and lucid introduction, help the reader to trace for himself this "march to nationhood." The documents are organized under sixteen headings, from Empire foreign policy to Asian immigration, with sections on the League of Nations, collective security, economic policy, and Canadian-American relations being especially full and rewarding. While most of the book might have been reduced by more frequent excisions from the sometimes soft centers of the many House of Commons debates, it is refreshing to find a set of documents that allow for full expression (extracts from Mackenzie King's war speech of September 8, 1939, run to twenty closely printed pages) rather than reducing key sources to mere snippets. My complaints are few. Riddell has not always identified the proper names that crowd the pages. Literally all the documents have appeared in print before (most come from official sources available only in large libraries); ideally, a collection of documents should draw upon unpublished manuscripts as well. There is only one reference to the Robert Borden papers among the seventy sources. On occasion the introduction seems to paraphrase the documents themselves. But the documents have been judiciously selected, and the collection is admirable, indispensable, and even (unlike most such volumes) consistently readable.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

BRITISH GUIANA. By *Raymond T. Smith*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 218. \$4.00.) The author, a British-born sociologist formerly on the University College of the West Indies' staff and presently chairman of the University of Ghana's sociology department, made four extended stays in British Guiana during the 1950's. He modestly presents this work as an interim report awaiting publication of his detailed study on the country's social structure. Actually, it is far more than this for, marked by the same scholarly craftsmanship characterizing his *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (1956), it is the best general survey of the area to date and leads one to hope that, in time, other

fragments of the Commonwealth may be so ably served. British Guiana affords an excellent opportunity to analyze the development of a fusion society in an isolated environment. Cut off from other lands and peoples by jungles and the sea, this long-time dependency, the size of Illinois with a population like Boston's, has been subjected to a minimum number of outside influences and has been able to live its own life to a remarkable degree. Its isolation, much akin to that of a remote oasis, a lonely isle, or some Shangri-la mountain vale, has rendered it an ideal laboratory for studying shifting economic foundations, the unifying influence of a common environment on diverse social strains, and the emergence of a new culture and the ramifications of political consciousness. Of particular interest to the average reader will be the discussion of the gradual replacement of Amerindian, African, Chinese, Portuguese, and Indian cultures by a modified version of British and of the Guianese intellectuals' somewhat pathetic attempts to discover their own identity in a rapidly shifting world. While stressing Dr. Jagan's political naïveté, Professor Smith is highly critical of Britain's suspension of the constitution in 1953 and, despite recent changes of policy in London, is extremely dubious about the country's future.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

DOCUMENTOS HISTÓRICOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. REVOLUCIÓN Y RÉGIMEN CONSTITUCIONALISTA. Volume II. Edited under the direction of *Isidro Fabela*. [Fuentes y documentos de la historia de México.] (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1962. Pp. xviii, 259.) This second in a series of volumes on the sources of the Mexican Revolution centers attention on United States occupation of Veracruz in 1914. Its chief interest is in the activities of Venustiano Carranza under whom Mr. Fabela served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Few documents dealing with the *de facto* Victoriano Huerta administration in Mexico City or of the other rebel movements of Álvaro Obregón and Pancho Villa are included. The few that do appear are presented apparently for the purpose of discrediting all who failed to agree with the viewpoint of First Chief Carranza. It is also to be noted that the "commentary" presented with each of the items is primarily an interpretation of the document as seen by the *Carranzistas*. When President Wilson finally announced that he was going to eliminate Huerta and invited the various Mexican factions to cooperate, Villa agreed to do so, but Carranza contented himself with condemning foreign intervention without overtly opposing it. Yet when Wilson prepared to evacuate Veracruz, the First Chief refused to agree to any of the arrangements proposed. Instead he tried to shift responsibility for acceptance to a special conference. When this failed, he gave orders in line with the Wilson terms though he flatly refused to agree with the United States to take these very steps. As has often occurred in our history, the Yankee was unable to fathom the thinking of the Mexican. Baffled, Wilson announced that the United States was withdrawing its forces, then ordered General Funston to embark his troops without making any arrangements that could be interpreted as recognition of Carranza. The last fifty pages of the volume emphasize the "patriotic" theme of the author's commentaries by presenting a collection of accounts, some documentary but most of them secondary, which tend to substantiate the author-editor's viewpoint. Included are selections from Arthur S. Link and from Josephus Daniels, who is quoted through the translation of Justino N. Palomares, *La invasión Yanquí de 1914*. Also included are the partisan accounts of Manuel Ugarte and Gastón Nerval. None of these add to the documentary character of the work though the last two were written close to the time of the events discussed and reflect something of contemporary opinion. The collection presents little information on the international phases of the Veracruz incident. Its chief contribution, therefore, is in the realm of providing material on the

Carranza interpretation of the internal maneuvering of Mexican political factions. Indeed, in this connection the later volumes of the series could be of substantial value to students of Mexican history. This will be especially true if the editor will include documents of the non-Carranza and anti-Carranza factions, not merely for the purpose of discrediting them but for an adequate presentation of all viewpoints.

University of South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

FUENTES DE LA HISTORIA CONTEMPORÁNEA DE MÉXICO. LIBROS Y FOLLETOS. Volume II. Compiled by *Luis González et al.* (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 1962. Pp. 682.) This is the second volume in a three-volume bibliographical series listing books and pamphlets that deal in whole or in part with Mexico from 1910 to 1940. Four more series of other types of publications on the same subject are to appear eventually, a magnificent undertaking by a team of Mexican and United States scholars under the direction of Daniel Cosío Villegas at the Colegio de México. The present series contains about 25,000 items of which 9,000 are in this volume. It is divided into three major parts: economics, politics, and religion. These parts in turn are divided into numerous sections and subsections. Somewhat over half the items are in the first part, with about 2,900 on politics and only 1,200 on religion. Many works that involve the Catholic Church in its struggle with the government during the period under consideration, however, are listed in the other two parts. Also, the editors acknowledge that no attempt was made to include all the devotional works published in Mexico, but they do list over two hundred pastoral letters by Mexican bishops on various subjects, political and spiritual. I hesitate to criticize a monumental labor of this magnitude and worth, but it does suffer from several weaknesses. The errors in the English-language items exceed tolerable limits, the listing of items within subsections follows no recognizable order, and cross-referencing of any kind is nonexistent.

University of Texas

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

EDITORIAL

A Professional Obligation

Often we hear historians lament the poor quality of their students and complain that secondary schools are doing an inadequate job. These critics are likely to continue by bemoaning that nothing is being done about the situation. Often the latter complaint indicates a previous lack of interest on the part of the critic. The field has been ripe for tillage, but there have been too few historians willing to plow. There is no doubt, in any case, that a major task lies ahead for the profession in improving the quality of history instruction in the schools, but a beachhead has been secured.

When the Service Center for Teachers of History was initiated in 1956, its aim was to narrow the gulf between university research specialists and teachers in the schools. Most historians are aware by now of the pamphlets that attempt to bring the reader abreast of current interpretations and authoritative writings in specific fields, but far too few know of the conferences sponsored by the Service Center and subsequent meetings stimulated by the Center's example, such as those at the Universities of Texas, Kansas, and Washington. Teachers report that scholarly relationships with active historians have enriched their own work greatly. Scholars, moreover, are impressed with the seriousness of the teachers and invariably gain a greater understanding of the teachers' needs and a greater awareness that the profession has been failing to meet its obligations.

Currently, compared with the sciences and mathematics, history is in an unfavorable position. There is little money coming from the federal government to support the study of history. Consequently, if history is not to suffer severely, the profession must assume more responsibility for the condition of history in the schools. Leaders of other disciplines, especially foreign languages, the sciences, and mathematics, have already initiated revisions of high school curriculums. It is time for historians to do the same. Historians lament the present situation and talk of the need for improvement, but few seem willing to act. How many historians are willing to become closely identified with the schools? The rewards in our profession have largely gone to those who publish. Now is the time to realize that there are other professional considerations whose social implications fully equal and may at times surpass the length of an individual's bibliography. The results could be highly salutary if historians apply the same creative energy and scholarly approach to the schools that they have applied to individual research. This means no less emphasis on research, but more on the schools.

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at Loyola University (Los Angeles), August 28–30, 1962. More than 375 historians attended. The Branch officers for 1963 are Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California, President; Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State College, Vice-President; John A. Schutz, Whittier College, Secretary-Treasurer; John W. Caughey, Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*. New members of the Council are Howard A. Hubbard, University of Arizona, Dorothy O. Johansen, Reed College, and Gordon Wright, Stanford University. Fred I. Israel of the City College of New York won the Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award for his article "The Fulfillment of Bryan's Dream: Key Pitman and Silver Politics, 1918–1933." The Pacific Coast Branch Award went to John Gimbel of Humboldt State College for his *The German Community under American Occupation*. The Branch will hold its 1963 meeting August 27–29 at San Francisco State College; Richard Wilde, Long Beach State College, is Program Chairman.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolniana in the Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress has been augmented by acquisition of the David Homer Bates collection. During the Civil War Mr. Bates was manager of the War Department telegraph office, which handled President Lincoln's telegrams. The Bates collection includes eleven Lincoln manuscripts—endorsements and brief notes, mainly to the Secretary of War—that are not found in the Basler edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*: letters of Robert E. Lee and other Confederate officers, of Andrew Carnegie, Samuel F. B. Morse, Jefferson Davis, and Robert Todd Lincoln, and a diary kept by Bates (November 13, 1863–June 4, 1865), which, although not illuminating as a Lincoln source, is significant as a record of military intelligence activities.

The papers of Edward Tracy Clark, lawyer, personal secretary to Calvin Coolidge (1921–1929), and consultant on legislative, customs, and tariff matters for various business concerns (1929–1935), were given to the Library in 1942 by Mr. Charles Kohen of Washington, D. C., with the proviso that they be unopened for twenty years. They are now available for research in the Manuscript Division. The papers (about nine thousand items) are dated between 1923 and 1935, but are most numerous for the years following 1929. In the correspondence, which reflects Mr. Clark's activities as the President's secretary and his later business interests, there are more than fifty letters written by Coolidge after he left the White House, letters from Mrs. Coolidge and the Coolidge sons, and letters from a number of public figures.

Dr. William Weber Coblentz, who retired in 1945 after forty years as head of the Radiometry Section of the National Bureau of Standards, has presented some three hundred papers as an addition to the biographical material he gave to the Library in 1952. The addition includes a diary he kept during a solar eclipse expedition to Sumatra in 1926, notebooks on stellar and planetary radiation and on stellar radiometry, a set of his publications (many with annotations and additions),

and correspondence (1896-1960). Four brief journals have been added to the William Howard Taft family papers by President Taft's heirs. One was kept by the Tafts jointly on their wedding trip to Europe in 1886; the other journals, kept by Mrs. Taft, record a second trip to Europe in 1888, a pack trip deep into Igorot country in 1901, and a trip around the world in 1907, when Taft was Secretary of War.

Among recent accessions of the National Archives are papers and photographs assembled by David Legge Brainard during his service with the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition to the Arctic and his subsequent military service, 1881-1918. They include his original notes, three volumes of his journal, and correspondence relating to the expedition.

Other accessions include records of the Army War College, consisting chiefly of studies prepared by staff officers, papers by students, lectures by guest speakers, and manuals, 1904-1920; minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1952, relating to the acquisition of land for national forests; minutes of the Committee on Experiment Station Organization and Policy of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1940-1946; and minutes of the board of directors and executive committee of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, 1934-1961.

The National Archives has recently published nine preliminary inventories of parts of its holdings: Number 139, *Records of the Supreme Court of the United States*; Number 140, *Records of the U. S. Housing Corporation*; Number 141, *Records of the National Board of Health*; Number 142, *Records of the Office of the Chief of Finance (Army)*; Number 143, *Records Relating to U. S. Claims against the Central Powers*; Number 144, *War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records*; Number 145, *Records of the Military Government of Cuba*; Number 146, *Records of the Provisional Government of Cuba*; and Number 147, *Records of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices*.

Among microfilm publications recently completed are Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the Secretary of War, 1800-1809 (3 rolls); Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the War with Spain in Organizations from North Carolina (2 rolls); and Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Alabama (49 rolls), Arkansas (26 rolls), Kentucky (14 rolls), Louisiana (31 rolls), Maryland (2 rolls), Missouri (16 rolls), South Carolina (35 rolls), Virginia (62 rolls), and the Territory of Arizona (1 roll).

Mrs. Ross T. McIntire, widow of President Roosevelt's White House personal physician, has given the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library her husband's papers, which relate not only to his service in the White House but also to his position as Surgeon General of the Navy, 1938-1946, and to his activities thereafter. Mrs. Roosevelt has given the library several hundred personal letters relating for the most part to her early married life.

Papers recently acquired by the Harry S. Truman Library include substantial collections from Theodore Tannenwald, Jr., former assistant director of the Mutual Security Agency; Paul M. Herzog, former chairman of the National Labor Relations Board; J. Weldon Jones, former auditor-general of the Philip-

pires and assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget; and some items from Frank Pace, Jr., former Secretary of the Army and director of the Bureau of the Budget; Willa Mae Roberts, former National Democratic committeewoman from Missouri; and James A. Foskett, former naval aide to the President.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives has acquired materials relating to the history of the United Automobile Workers, including the papers of Hugh Thompson, Richard T. Frankenstein, and Homer Martin.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Social Science Research Council awards Faculty Research Fellowships, Grants-in-Aid of Research, and International Conference Travel Grants in various fields. Further information concerning these awards can be secured from Social Science Research Council Fellowships and Grants, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded grants to Ralph E. Giesey, Gertrude Himmelfarb, and James MacGregor Burns.

Four scholars named by the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library as recipients of grants-in-aid are Stephen E. Ambrose, Raymond F. Betts, Ambrose Saricks, and Sung Jae Koh.

Emil J. Polak of Brooklyn College received a Rome Prize Fellowship in Post-Classical Humanistic Studies from the American Academy in Rome for the year 1962-1963.

Approximately 170 public senior high school teachers and 70 public school administrators will be awarded John Hay Fellowships to attend summer institutes at Bennington College, Colorado College, the University of Oregon, and Williams College. Those interested should get in touch with Charles R. Keller, Director, John Hay Fellows Program, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

A program of grants-in-aid for research on Wisconsin's role in the Civil War has been established by the Wisconsin Civil War Centennial Commission. These grants are intended to defray travel, clerical, and other expenses incidental to the research project and will range to five hundred dollars each. Letters of application should be sent to William B. Hesseltine, Chairman, Publications Committee, Civil War Centennial Commission, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies again offers a prize of two hundred dollars for the best unpublished study on the history of Italy, of article or essay length (twenty thousand words or less). All manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Catherine E. Boyd, Department of History, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

According to the *Report* of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation for 1961-1962, 14.80 per cent of the Woodrow Wilson fellows since 1945 have chosen history as their field of graduate study.

An Institute for Documentary Research on Foreign Nations has been established in Washington, D. C. The officers include: President, Elmer Plischke, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland; Secretary, George W. F. Hallgarten, 3200 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

The department of history at Harvard University announces the activation of the Donald Cope McKay Fund, a memorial established by his colleagues, students, and friends, to aid in the publication of scholarly books in modern French and Italian history.

RECENT DEATHS

George Macaulay Trevelyan, O.M., died July 20, 1962, at the age of eighty-six. He was born February 16, 1876, third son of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, and great-nephew of Thomas Babington Macaulay. He married Janet, the daughter of Humphrey and Mary Ward. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge, he taught briefly as a young man and, in later life, lectured as Regius Professor in his alma mater. During the First World War Trevelyan served in the Red Cross and was decorated, for his services then and in his literary work, by the Italian government. Fascism was a great blow to him. Between the wars he interested himself in the preservation of scenery and monuments and worked for the National Trust. Early in the 1940's he accepted the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge, it is said, because he did not want to escape, by continuing to live in his beloved Northumbrian retreat, the dangers of bombing.

Trevelyan's life was dedicated to history, and much of his time was occupied with studying and writing it. An early work, *The Age of Wycliffe* (1902), is still read by students of the fourteenth century. Volumes on Garibaldi (1909-1911) made his reputation in England and abroad. Biographies of Grey of the Reform Bill, John Bright, and Grey of Fallodon, a friend and neighbor, and an edition of Italian songs of freedom, and of the poems of another friend, George Meredith, are only a few of the other titles to his credit. *England under Queen Anne* (1930-1934) continued on much the same scale, and in something of the same manner, Macaulay's *History*. Perhaps the most widely read today is the *Social History* published in 1942.

A writer of great charm, widely acquainted with both literature and history, Trevelyan's reputation rests on scope and readability rather than on reinterpretation. Vehement patriotism pervaded his life and work, and made all the more vivid the story he told. Trevelyan was keenly interested in the reading public, encouraged younger scholars generously, and enthusiastically supported such ventures as *History Today*. He was an honorary member of the American Historical Association. Some critics have attempted to denegate Trevelyan's historical contribution. In the work of any very productive scholar there is usually much to

criticize as interest and fashion change, but perhaps he should be judged not by what he did not attempt, but by those standards and sensibilities which have made his books so generally enjoyed—that is, by the exercise of our perception of personality, passion for beauty, liberty, poetry.

Ella Victoria Lonn died at St. Petersburg, Florida, August 10, at the age of eighty-three. After undergraduate work at the University of Chicago, she entered the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, where her M.A. degree was conferred in 1909, and the Ph.D. in 1911. She then studied in Berlin and Paris and returned to teach at Grinnell College from 1914 to 1918. From Grinnell she went to Goucher, where she remained until her retirement in 1945. She is remembered by her students there as a brilliant lecturer who inspired many to go on to graduate school. Many younger scholars recall with gratitude her interest and advice. A superb, meticulous, and indefatigable scholar, she was the author of many articles and five books: *Reconstruction in Louisiana* (1918), *Desertion during the Civil War* (1928), *Salt in the Confederacy* (1933), *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940), and *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (1951). She was a life member of the American Historical Association and served on several of its committees. She was also active in other professional organizations, notably the Southern Historical Association, of which she was president in 1950.

Austin Patterson Evans, born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1883, died September 20. He received his B.A. at Cornell University in 1911, and his Ph.D. in 1916. Mr. Evans joined the faculty of Columbia University in 1915. He then served overseas in 1918–1919, gaining the *Croix de guerre*. Returning to the university, he became a professor in 1931 and remained at Columbia until his retirement in 1952. Mr. Evans also served as an administrative officer, being chairman of the Committee of Instruction of the Faculty of Political Science and twice chairman of the history department. A member of numerous learned societies, including the American Historical Association, Mr. Evans became a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America in 1948, of which he was subsequently elected president for the term April 1954–April 1957. His principal scholarly interest was the history of heresy. His first publication (1924) concerned the Sectaries of Nuremberg (1524–1528), and his last published works dealt with the Inquisition and the Albigensian Crusade. He also served as editor of the “Records of Civilization” from 1925 to 1954. By the latter date, fifty-two volumes had been published under his editorship, including one by him and Clarissa P. Farrar. After his retirement, he continued to see volumes begun under his sponsorship through the press, and, together with Professor Walter Wakefield, prepared one of his own for inclusion in the series. Mr. Evans died at Barnard, Vermont, on September 20, 1962. The loss of Mr. Evans is deeply felt by the Columbia community and by his many faithful students. His probity, diligence, and devotion to duty have left a mark upon all who worked with him.

Frances Helen Relf, professor emeritus at Wells College, died in early September. Miss Relf did her undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Minnesota. She was coeditor, with Wallace Notestein, of *Commons Debates*

for 1629 (1921) and *Commons Debates, 1621* (1935), and author of *The Petition of Right* (1917) and *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords . . . by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing* (1929). She was a member of the American Historical Association, the American Association of University Women, and the Royal Historical Society.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of my book *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths* (*AHR*, LXVII [July 1962], 1038), Professor Szeftel wrote: "his book certainly offers an interesting piece of historical reading—for those who are not too well acquainted with Russian history." Szeftel does not like my book, and I assume it is a sign of his irritation that he puts the word in quotes when referring to the myths I studied. This is his privilege and does not call for an answer on my part. What does is the fact that all of Szeftel's substantive criticisms miss the mark.

Szeftel wrote that I "did not demonstrate that princehood and sanctity were identical (Ivan IV included!) in pre-Peter Russia." He argues that such a demonstration is not possible, for rhetorical exaltation, monachization on the deathbed, the halo, or iconography are not sufficient evidence. Szeftel asks: "did the people pray to 'Saint' Ivan the 'Terrible'? . . ." I do not know and neither does Szeftel; we *do* know, however, that Ivan the Terrible was listed among the saints (see my book, p. 31, n. 71), and this piece of evidence Szeftel chooses to omit.

Szeftel wrote that I fail to demonstrate that all the tsars of the Romanov family were considered "most-gentle . . . since only direct evidence from liturgy would be valid," and goes on: "Is there anything else in the term 'tishaishii' [most gentle] than Tsar Alexis' personal characterization?" First of all, nowhere do I claim that all the Romanov tsars had that title. Secondly, there is good evidence that it was not a personal characterization of Tsar Alexis: it was part of the Byzantine imperial titulature; it *was* used in the liturgy; it was part of Peter I's title until 1721 (see my book, pp. 62 ff.).

Szeftel argues against my contention that the Russian emperor was regarded as a god on earth as "completely unfounded," based as it is on "rhetorical exaggerations, in the pseudoclassical style of the early eighteenth century. . . ." This, first of all, is a methodological issue. While the men who called Peter I a god on earth were certainly exaggerating, it is still significant that they used this particular exaggeration among many that are possible. And, secondly, their claims were buttressed by the beliefs of the schismatic Old Believers whose writings I adduce. They saw Peter I and his successors as antichrists, which is a good theological rendering of an earthly god, and while the Old Believers were undoubtedly rhetorically exaggerated, they can hardly be thought of as pseudoclassical.

Szeftel writes that "The Idea of 'Holy Russia' (which goes beyond Prince Kurbsky to the first century of Russian Christianity . . .) does not mean anything but the belief of the Russian people that their country is the seat of true Christianity. . . ." In fact, however, the epithet did not exist before Prince Kurbsky in the late sixteenth century or, (as I try to prove) in the early seventeenth century, and it was used within a specific historical context and meant much more through the centuries than Szeftel thinks it did. He goes on to argue that "There is no contradiction between this idea and that of 'Tsar'-batiushka as long as the latter remains a good Christian." I have no idea what the "contradiction" is all about.

But the two myths were as frequently opposed to each other as they were used to complement each other. Szeftel chooses to overlook the whole dynamism of ideas, the fact that they change in meaning and purpose through the centuries. Hence he argues that the Russian people did not believe, by 1905, in a "Holy Ruler"; clearly not, for by that time the myth of the ruler had changed considerably, as I try to show in the course of two chapters. In the same tone he argues against my conception of the absolutist emperor as a god on earth by reminding us that the imperial title "continue[d] to begin by the phrase 'By God's grace. . .'" He is perfectly correct, for, as I also try to show through two chapters, the various aspects of the ruler-myth overlap with each other and coexist in time, producing the enormous complexity that resulted in what Szeftel referred to as "the complexity of his much too subtle argumentation. . ."

Finally, Szeftel points out that the majority of the Russian intelligentsia did not derive their exaltation of the people from the idea of "Holy Russia." This is a debatable point, but I am inclined to agree with Szeftel. Unfortunately, because of the subject of my book, I had to write about that part of the intelligentsia (no matter how small) which did derive their image of the Russian people from the symbol and epithet of "Holy Russia."

Social, political, and religious myths are intractable things. They are very difficult to demonstrate, trace, prove, or even define. But even Szeftel cannot exorcize them away.

University of Chicago

MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dr. Cherniavsky's letter shows unmistakably that it is not always easy to take (and profit from!) criticism. I would not answer it if his queries did not call for more specific substantiation of my judgment.

There is full evidence that not only Ivan IV, but also Ivan I, Dimitrii Donskoi, Vasilii III (and even Vladimir Monomakh) never were worshipped as saints, and it is given by Cherniavsky's own source (quoted on p. 31, n. 71, of his book). As a matter of fact, Golubinskii mentioned them only negatively, in "a list of deceased, in reality not worshipped, but whose names had been included in catalogues of saints" (*Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v Russkoi tserkvi* [2d ed.], pp. 349-58); these princes are not even among former saints, that is, those who used to be worshipped, but whose worship was discontinued or stopped (*ibid.*, p. 593). How did these names come in? In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, five menologies were composed (not officially, but by clergymen) containing not only saints and those venerated as saints, but also those who ought to be venerated as saints, with an eye to utmost completeness, revising the former restrictive tendency (*ibid.*, pp. 310-13).

In one of them (only one!) at the date of June 10 there is mentioned "invention of Tsar Ioann's body" (Undol'sky MS. N. 237 quoted by Archbishop Sergii in *Polnyi mesiasleslov Vostoka* [1901 ed.], p. 357, without any reference to Ivan IV, who died, by the way, on March 19 and not on June 10). Golubinskii (p. 358) interpreted it, without any additional evidence, as meaning Ivan IV, but expressed in strong terms his surprise at this incongruity. If one bears in mind that the menology lists not only Russian saints, but all Christian saints, one realizes how little solidity is carried by this identification.

One is surprised at Cherniavsky's use of a negative statement as a reference to establish a positive affirmation, and of a not too precise and isolated mention

as a basis for a categorical recognition. We historians usually ask for much more evidence.

What was the document which “eliminated the epithet *tishaishii* from the liturgy” in 1721? Of the sources quoted by Cherniavsky (p. 72, n. 2), *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*, N. 3840, did not mention either the epithet itself or its elimination. Ustrialov’s history of Peter I’s reign is a secondary source; it was not available to me, and I could not verify the quotation and appraise it. In good method, however, the primary source should have been given to allay all doubts. In its absence they must stand. Whether *Galenotetos* was part of the Byzantine imperial titulature is not material: Cherniavsky did not demonstrate that it is identical with *tishaishii* (to give to the latter not a personal but a general connotation). In his book, however, he stated on two occasions that it was not a part of official titulature (p. 62, text, and n. 62). He must decide: Was it or was it not?

Is the belief of the Old Believers that Peter I was antichrist, that is, God’s enemy, a proof that the rest of the Christian population considered him as God on earth? One is staggered by this intellectual *salto mortale*.

I am certainly aware of the importance of studying the ideas in all the complexities of their evolution (a quieter word than “dynamism”), but I am also aware of the danger for a historian to have his clarity of perception and his sense of concreteness blunted among those complexities. Utmost care is advisable out of fear of mirages. I am afraid that, attracted by the latter, Cherniavsky lost his way among the “various aspects of the ruler-myth.” I am happy to recognize the constructive attitude taken by Cherniavsky regarding his final criticism.

The more difficult the topic, the more rigorous should be the method of investigation, and the more cautious the conclusions. I am sorry to say that this has not been the case in this instance.

University of Washington

MARC SZEFTTEL

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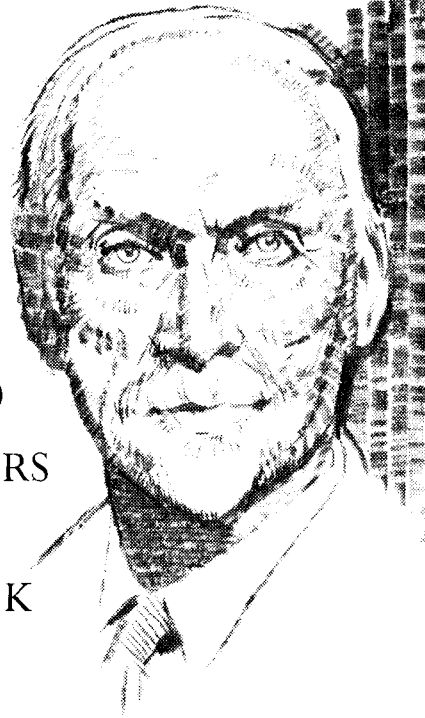
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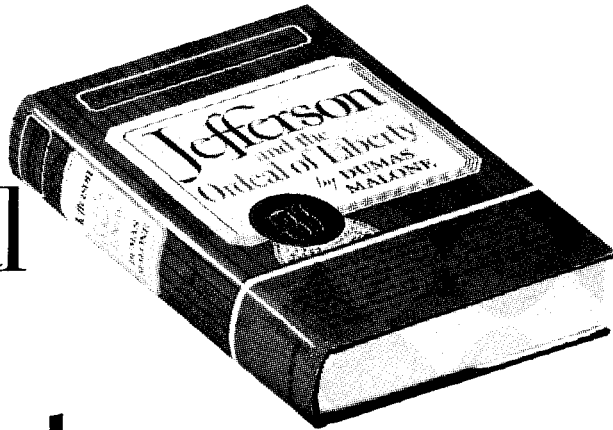
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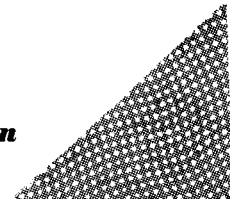
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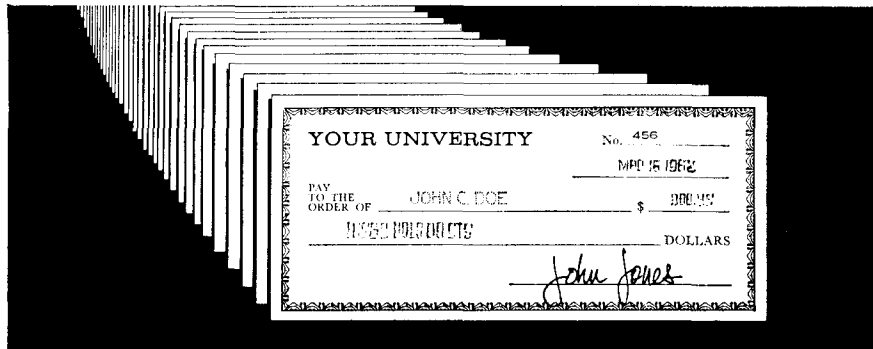
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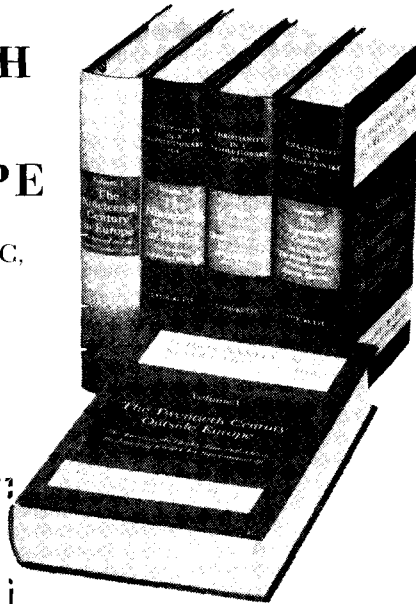
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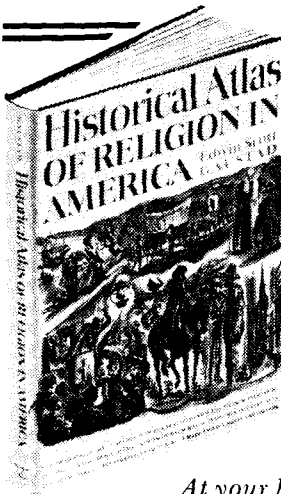
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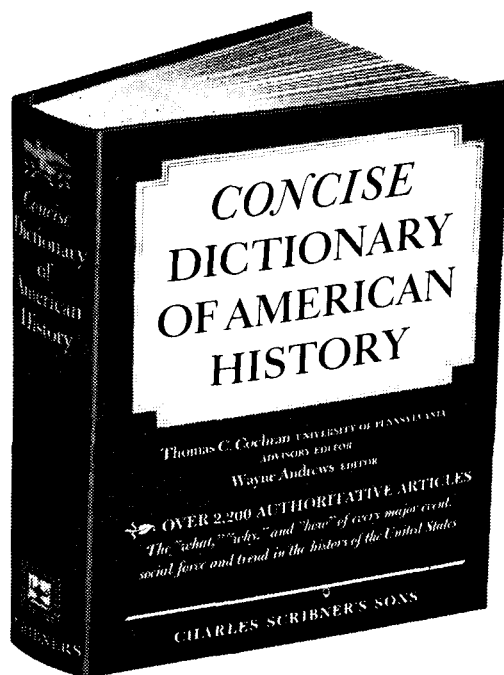
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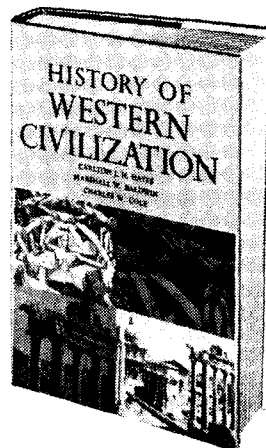
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